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THIS WEEK'S FORUM: PAGE 44

A POPULATION IN MOTION

The major demographic forces that are reshaping American society will present awesome challenges to political, economic, and social institutions—particularly the schools. For an *Education Week* special report:

See Page 13.

EDUCATION WEEK

American Education's Newspaper of Record | Volume V, Number 34 · May 14, 1986

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Legal Logjam on Asbestos Issue Is Broken by Court

By James Crawford

Breaking a procedural logjam in asbestos litigation, a federal appeals panel has given school districts the choice of suing producers on their own or joining a nationwide class action to recoup the costs of controlling the asbestos hazard.

The "landmark decision" now clears the way for trials—or out-of-court settlements—involving school property-damage claims against the asbestos industry, according to Daniel Berger, a plaintiffs' attorney.

On May 2, the three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit unanimously upheld districts' standing as a nationwide class. At the same time, it made the class "voluntary," removing all limitations on independent actions to recover both actual and punitive damages.

These issues had stalled proceedings in a federal class action filed three years ago in Philadelphia against 54 asbestos producers, and had complicated school suits elsewhere as well.

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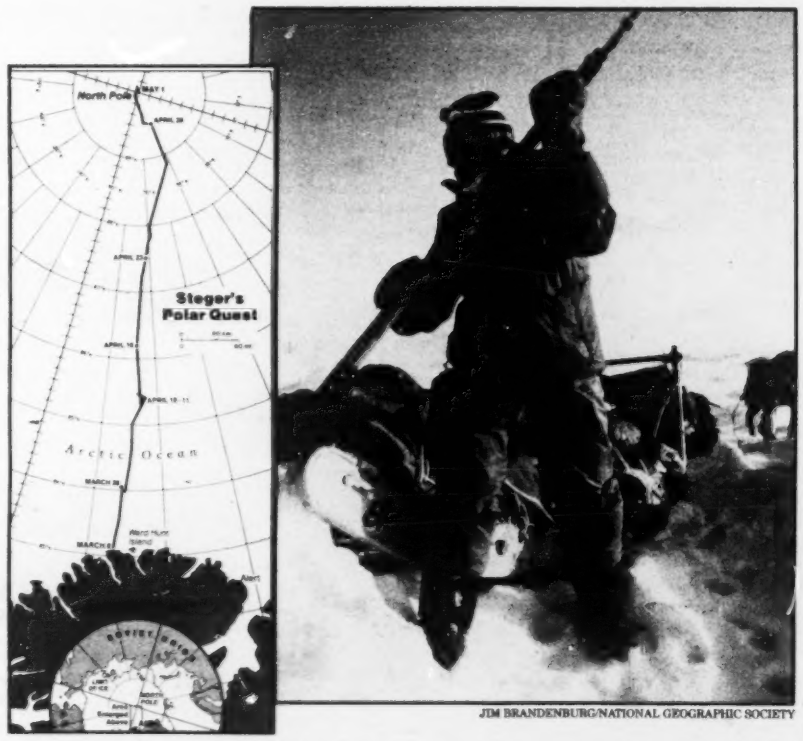

JIM BRANDENBURG/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

FREEZING: Ann Bancroft, a teacher from Minneapolis, recently became the first woman to traverse the Arctic to reach the North Pole. See story, page 4.

Education Groups Respond Warily to Senate's Tax Plan

Hit Panel's Call For End To Sales-Tax Deduction

By James Hertling

WASHINGTON—Education groups reacted cautiously last week to the Senate Finance Committee's bipartisan proposal to radically revise the federal tax code.

"We're in that assessment period right now," said Michael A. Resnick, associate executive director of the National School Boards Association. "There's one month to figure out where the problems might be and what the adjustments might be" before the full Senate considers the measure.

Representatives of education groups did sharply criticize the bill's elimination of deductibility for state and local sales taxes, and they said they would promote an amendment on the Senate floor to restore the deduction.

They also expressed concern about provisions relating to pensions, charitable contributions, and municipal bonds.

The Republican-controlled Finance Committee unanimously cleared the bill with surprising dispatch, leaving lobbyists un-

Continued on Page 38

Supreme Court To Decide Louisiana Creation-Science Case

By Alina Tugend

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Supreme Court agreed last week to consider the constitutionality of a Louisiana law that requires public schools to teach "creation science" along with the theory of evolution.

In asking the Court to overturn an appellate ruling that the law unconstitutionally mandates the teaching of a "religious belief," the state argued that "creation science is nonreligious, and in fact, is as nonreligious as evolution."

The primary purpose of the 1981 statute is to advance "academic freedom to hear additional scientific evidence," the state maintained in documents filed with the Court.

A federal district-court ruling in the case, *Edwards* v. *Aguillard* (Case No. 85-1513), in January 1985 held that there was no legitimate secular reason for the "Balanced Treatment for Creation Science and Evolution Science Act," under which Louisiana schools must provide comparable coverage of creation science if evolution is taught.

A three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit upheld the district-court ruling. Last December, the full court declined, in an 8-to-7 vote, to rehear the case.

The High Court has scheduled oral arguments in the case for next fall.

In its decision, the appeals-court panel wrote that "we must recognize that the theory of creation is a religious belief. We cannot divorce ourselves from the historical fact that the controversy between the proponents of evolution and creationism has religious overtones."

The panel also concluded that although the authors of the statute argued that its purpose was to promote academic freedom, "the compulsion inherent in the Balanced Treatment Act is, on its face, inconsistent with the idea of academic freedom as it is universally understood."

Continued on Page 39

Independent-School Enrollments Slip

By Blake Rodman

Average enrollment in the nation's independent schools dropped this year, according to the National Association of Independent Schools.

It was the first recorded decline since the association began to keep complete enrollment data on member institutions more than a decade ago.

While N.A.I.S. officials said it is too early to tell whether enrollments will continue to fall, findings contained in a new report by another organization indicate that the number of students seeking to enter independent high schools is shrinking.

The report, published by the Secondary School Admission Test Board, a national organization that sponsors admissions testing for roughly 600 independent secondary schools, attributes the decline largely to demographic trends.

Demographic projections indicate that

Continued on Page 39

In Texas, 96.7 Percent Pass Educators' Test

By Blake Rodman

Nearly 97 percent of Texas teachers and school administrators passed a controversial literacy test that state lawmakers had mandated as a condition for continued professional certification, the state education agency reported last week.

The exam—known as the Texas Examination of Current Administrators and Teachers, or TECAT for short—tested educators' basic reading and writing skills.

Of the 202,084 educators who took the test, only 6,579—or 3.3 percent—failed, considerably fewer than the 10,000 teachers State Commissioner of Education William Kirby had estimated would fail based on field testing.

Black teachers, however, failed the test at a rate 17 percentage points above the failure rate for whites and 12 percentage points above the failure rate for Hispanics.

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IN SUMMARY

Strong Principals, Big Gains
Confirming earlier effective-schools research, a major study of Seattle pupils has found significant achievement gains for youngsters whose school principals are strong instructional leaders. **Story on Page 5.**

'Team' Teaching Teachers
Proposals for a new kind of graduate program in teaching—to be developed by "institutional teams" representing various fields—are under study by a consortium of college deans. **Story on Page 7.**

Pass To Play in California
The state would become the third to adopt "no-pass, no-play" rules for high-school students, if a bill passed overwhelmingly by the lower house of the legislature becomes law. **Story on page 8.**

'Premed' Magnet School
Los Angeles students could attend a magnet school to prepare for studies in medicine and other health-care fields under a plan expected to be approved by the district's school board. **Story on Page 9.**

Rising Premiums, Rising Profits
As school districts and education groups adopt strategies to cope with the liability-insurance crunch, a federal auditor has sharply disputed the insurance industry's claims about the crisis. **Story on Page 10.**

A Test for Teacher Tests
The issues surrounding the impact of certification tests on black teachers are being debated in a federal trial over Alabama's tests that opened last week. **Story on Page 10.**

Nearing a Compromise
A House-Senate compromise that would break the impasse on legislation giving parents the right to collect legal fees in special-education suits appears to be imminent. **Story on page 11.**

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FORUM
"What Works: Home Economics Education and Future Homemakers of America." Future Homemakers of America.
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THE WEEK

NATIONAL

NCATE Policy Board Gives Final Approval To New Constitution

The coordinating board of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, which accredits many of the nation's teacher-education programs, has approved a new constitution that in part will streamline how it is governed and give education policymakers a greater say in its affairs.

The new constitution is part of a plan to redesign NCATE and its work. That redesign will change the standards and procedures for accrediting teacher-education programs. *(See Education Week, June 19, 1985.)*

NCATE's 25-member council—which under the current system votes on accreditation decisions—initiated the change last June. The group's 25-member coordinating board, which controls the organization's policies and constitution, then proceeded to draw up a new constitution that will collapse both the council and the coordinating board into a single national council made up of 17 members.

Three sets of constituents—teachers, teacher educators, and subject-area groups—currently have an equal share in the governance of NCATE. Under the redesigned constitution, a fourth constituent—education "policy" groups—will be added to that list, said Richard Kunkel, NCATE's executive director.

Among the policy groups to be represented on the new council are the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Association of State Boards of Education, and the National School Boards Association.

The new constitution becomes effective July 1, Mr. Kunkel said.

STATES

Half of Louisiana's School Aid Fails To Reach Classrooms

Only about half of the $2.1 billion Louisiana spent on public education last year reached the classroom, according to a report released this month by the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry.

The study was based on the 1984-85 financial and statistical reports submitted by local school systems to the state department of education.

It found that districts spent more than $1 billion in state funds on administration, school meals, transportation, and other costs not directly related to instruction.

They spent about 52 percent of the money on teachers' salaries, instructional materials, and other classroom needs.

The study also compared costs in 15 schools judged to be of "high quality" with those for other schools within the same system. It found that 10 of the exemplary schools spent less money than the average school in their community.

The association recommended that Louisiana schools spend more money on instructional services and that the state change its funding formula to allocate funds on a per-pupil basis and give districts more flexibility.

In return, districts should have better cost-reporting systems and should produce indicators of school quality, such as test scores, dropout rates, and daily attendance, according to the report.

Jackie Ducote, vice president for programs and research for the association, said the study was conducted following pressure to increase public-school funding in the state. More money may be needed for education, she said, but "we need to start by spending what we have differently."

State Inspecting Schools, Play Areas For Lead Toxicity

Minnesota officials have begun collecting soil samples from playgrounds at day-care centers, schools, and community parks to determine if children playing there risk lead poisoning.

Between 500 and 700 sites—including every major metropolitan day-care center—will be tested this year, according to Dale Trippler, a project leader for the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency's lead program.

Last year, the statewide Lead Coalition, a citizens' organization, successfully urged state legislators to implement a testing program to determine if children were being exposed to high lead levels, which have been linked to learning disorders and other ailments.

Children under 6 are most at risk for lead poisoning, both because of their play habits and because they are physically more susceptible, according to Mr. Trippler.

The pollution-control agency is scheduled to report to the legislature by next Jan. 1 on the extent of the problem and what, if anything, should be done, he said.

School-Bus Safety Placed on Agenda In New York

A joint legislative commission in New York has issued a report recommending that seat belts be installed in all new school buses, and the state Senate's transportation committee is scheduled to vote this week on a measure that would mandate their use.

The Legislative Commission on Critical Transportation surveyed several safety studies and concluded that "seat belts do offer protection and should be mandatory" on school buses, according to James Moriarty, spokesman for Senator Norman Levy, who is chairman of both the commission and the committee.

Outfitting new buses with seat belts could cost between $1,100 and $1,500 each, he said, but school districts can apply to the state to recover up to 90 percent of the cost.

The commission also recommended that extra padding be added to the backs of school-bus seats, at a cost of $300 per bus, and that students not be permitted to stand while a bus is in motion. The transportation committee will also consider bills addressing those recommendations, Mr. Moriarty said.

DISTRICTS

Principal Gets Death Sentence In Teacher Killing

The former principal of Upper Merion High School in Montgomery County, Pa., has been sentenced to death for the 1979 murder of a teacher at the school and her two young children. The sentence, announced on April 30, will automatically be reviewed by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

Jay C. Smith, who has a doctorate in education, was convicted of the slayings along with William S. Bradfield Jr., another teacher, who was romantically involved with the teacher, Susan Reinert. The motive for the murders was a $730,000 life-insurance benefit to Mr. Bradfield, prosecutors argued.

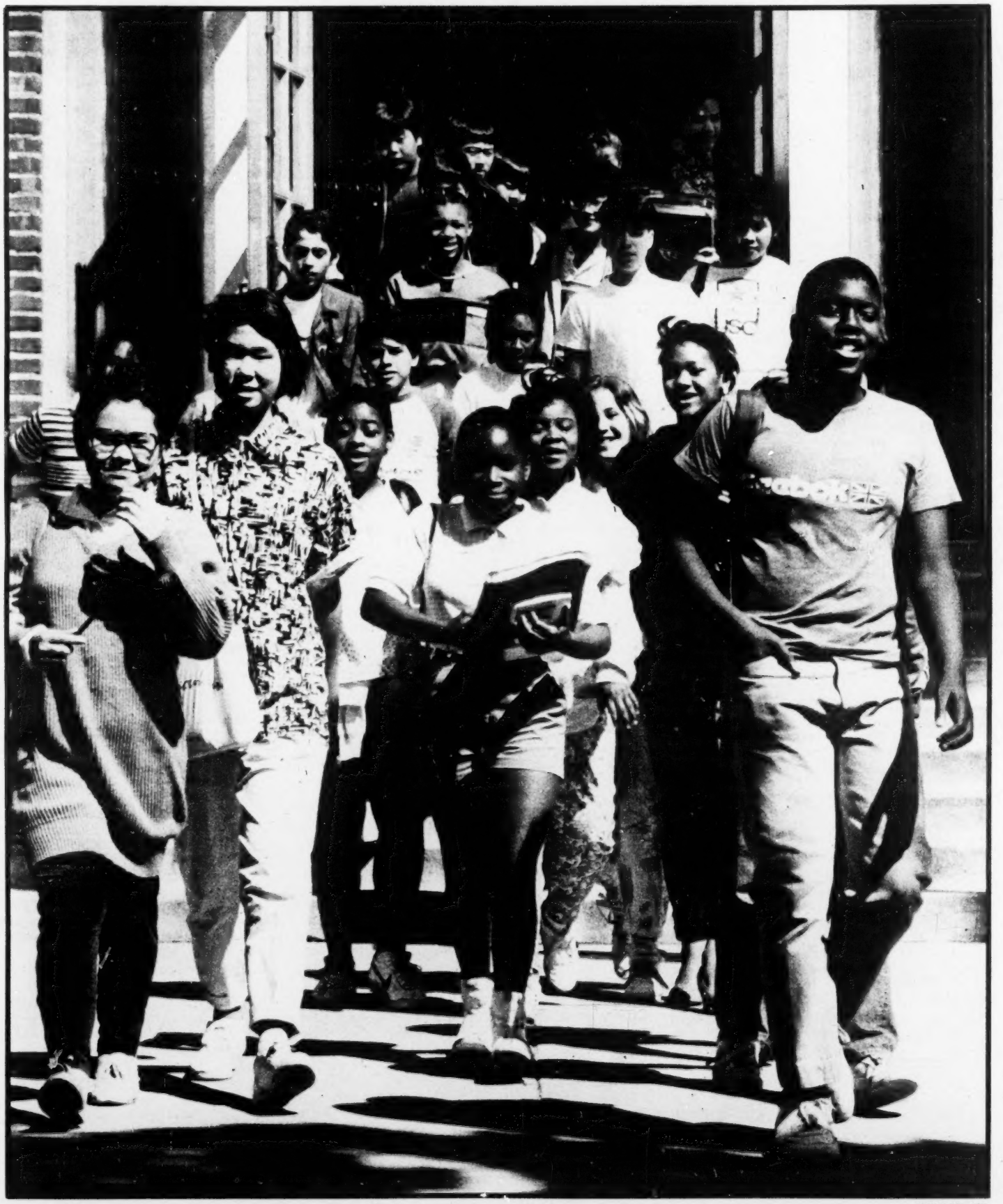
Although Mr. Bradfield was sentenced to three consecutive life terms in 1983, it took the state until last year to gather sufficient evidence to indict Mr. Smith, according to Robert R. Gentzel, a spokesman for the Pennsylvania Attorney General.

The "key element" of the prosecution's case, Mr. Gentzel said, was testimony that Mr. Smith had admitted his role in the murders to two fellow inmates while imprisoned on drug and theft charges.

Compensation Issues For Administrators Eyed in Philadelphia

In an effort to break a 17-month logjam, the Philadelphia Common Pleas Court has ordered four commissions to study compensation and other issues that have divided the school board and the Philadelphia Association of School Administrators.

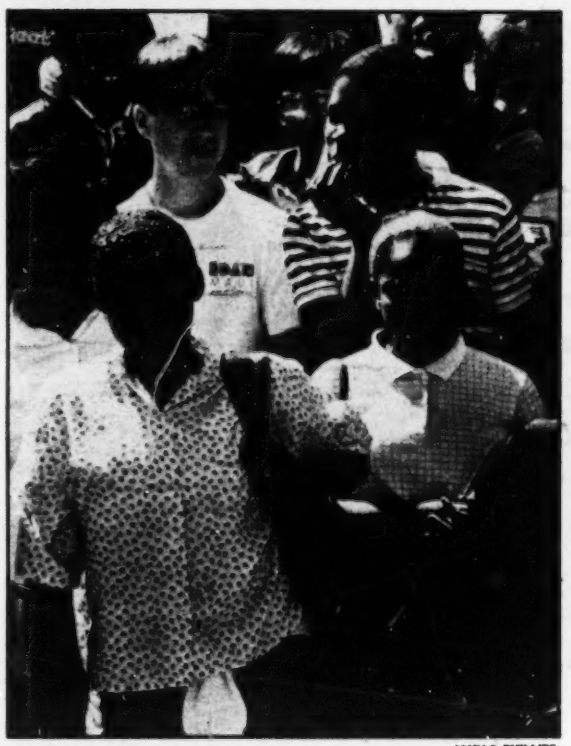
Here They Come, Ready or Not

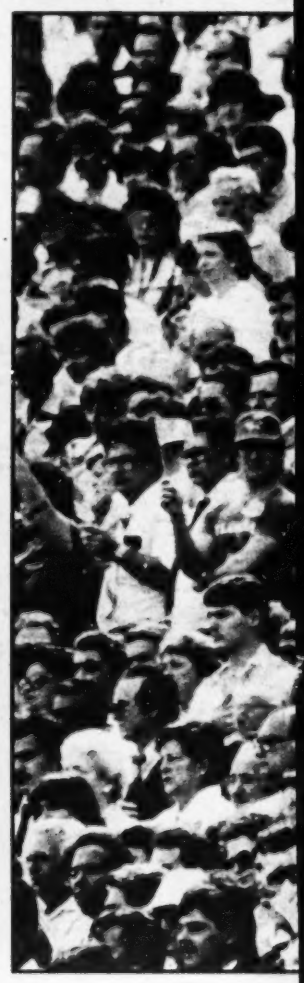


JOHN C. PHILLIPS

An Education Week Special Report on the ways in which America's 'population in motion' is changing the outlook for schools and society

FRED ZIMMERMAN





JOHN C. PHILLIPS

Today's Numbers, Tomorrow's Nation

Demography's Awesome Challenge for Schools

For the past several years, Harold L. Hodgkinson has been criss-crossing the country warning American educators and policymakers that they may be about to repeat a mistake they made—and paid dearly for—at the onset of the Baby Boom.

Changes at least "as drastic" are on the horizon, the former college president and National Institute of Education director tells audiences across the country. But the same lack of foresight that sent school districts scrambling for teachers and classroom space in the early 1950's, he says, is evident once again.

Much of what Mr. Hodgkinson says is already vaguely familiar to his listeners—that the nation is aging, that the minority portion of the youth population is growing, that children have become the poorest segment of the society, that the family structure is undergoing radical change.

But bare statistics have a bloodlessness that blunts their impact. When Mr. Hodgkinson gives them life—through analysis, through anecdote, through an interweaving of implications—audiences from Maine to California react with the same sense of indignant surprise. At practically every stop on a growing speaking itinerary, he says, a stream of post-speech questioners ask him, "Why haven't we been told about this?"

The "this" is no secret. It is a demographic portrait of the United States. And the changes it portends are already becoming as apparent as the overcrowded maternity wards of the postwar era that signaled the Baby Boom long before its full impact was felt.

The new demographic shockwave is being heralded not by the maternity wards but by the geriatric wards. There are now, for the first time, more Americans over 65 than under 18. Their numbers will soar even more dramatically when the Baby Boomers begin to retire.

In their enormous wake, demography tells us, a markedly different generation of Americans is developing. It will be smaller, and it will be more racially and ethnically diverse than any previous generation in American history.

And in the demography of the emerging generation will be writ large the shifting patterns in the nation's class and family structures, in its immigration flow, in its workforce and social-support systems, and in its regional concentrations of people. Mr. Hodgkinson predicts these changes will be drastic. And social and political institutions—beginning with the schools—will have to reckon with them.

Next September, more than 3.6 million children will begin their formal schooling in the United States.

- 1 out of 4 of them will be from families who live in poverty.
- 14 percent will be the children of teenage mothers.
- 15 percent will be physically or mentally handicapped.
- As many as 15 percent will be immigrants who speak a language other than English.
- 14 percent will be children of unmarried parents.
- 40 percent will live in a broken home before they reach 18.
- 10 percent will have poorly educated, even illiterate, parents.
- Between one quarter and one third will be latchkey children with no one to greet them when they come home from school.
- And a quarter or more of them will not finish school.

These children, the early wave of the baby boomlet that will enter the schools over the next five years, will in these ways clearly reflect the forces at work in American society. That many will bring with them baggage of familial, racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic stress is well known to educators. What is less well understood is that if current trends persist, the proportion of children "at risk" for school failure for these reasons will grow with each passing year for the foreseeable future.

One of the most widely used clichés by commencement speakers at this time of year is that the young are the hope of the future. They will inherit the responsibility for sustaining and directing the social, political, and economic institutions of this nation.

It is in this context that the growing proportion of at-risk children in the emerging generations becomes a portent of the future. If demographic trends and projections prove reasonably accurate, these children will face awesome challenges as society seeks to replace the skills of the retiring Baby Boomers. And, if our past experience in dealing with the most needy children is any guide, they will be ill-equipped to meet those challenges.

Today, it is the nation's educational system that faces the awesome challenge. Although "at-risk" children represent a minority of school enrollments, their impact on the system is great.

Some educators argue in fact that it was the at-risk group that precipitated the current school-reform movement—that had these children not been in the schools, there would have been no drive for reform.

For many, the irony of the situation is that, thus far, reform has not only produced few solutions for the problems of at-risk children but may in fact be exacerbating them.

If the United States is "a nation at risk," as the National Commission on Excellence in Education said in 1983, the "risk" may be largely concentrated in this growing segment of educationally disadvantaged children. They will compose the workforce that will compete in an increasingly technological marketplace. And they will be looked to for the economic productivity to sustain a burgeoning support system for the elderly.

Yet, as reform seeks "excellence" through tightened standards that often exclude them, these children appear, more than ever, to be virtually doomed to lifelong membership in a permanent underclass.

Scott Miller, a program officer with the Exxon Education Foundation, writes in a Commentary in this issue that "several of our inner cities have effectively become the planet's first truly international multicultural, multilingual developing 'countries.'" In a very real sense, an underdeveloped country of some 40 million people has grown in our midst. The majority of its inhabitants are poor, nonwhite, uneducated if not illiterate, unemployed and often unemployable, and largely dependent on government for their survival.

The New York Regional Plan Association confronted the phenomenon this month in a report on prospects for the economic future of the New York City metropolitan area. While foreseeing growing prosperity for the already affluent segments of the population, the group predicted deepening poverty for the metropolitan region's poor and poorly educated. "More than anywhere else in the country, we are creating a two-tier society of haves and have nots," said the panel's chairman, William S. Woodside, chairman of the American Can Company. "Poverty in the midst of plenty could become intolerable."

Michael Harrington recognized that 20

Credits

Harold L. Hodgkinson, scholar-in-residence at the American Council on Education, served as a consultant in the preparation of this report. He supplied much of the factual and statistical data.

Tom Mirga, associate editor of *Education Week*, served as researcher and writer.

Terry E. Smith, an art director with *The Washington Times*, and **Jane Trimbach**, art director of *Education Week*, created the diagraphics, and **Susan Quinn**, editorial assistant at *Education Week*, created the tables.

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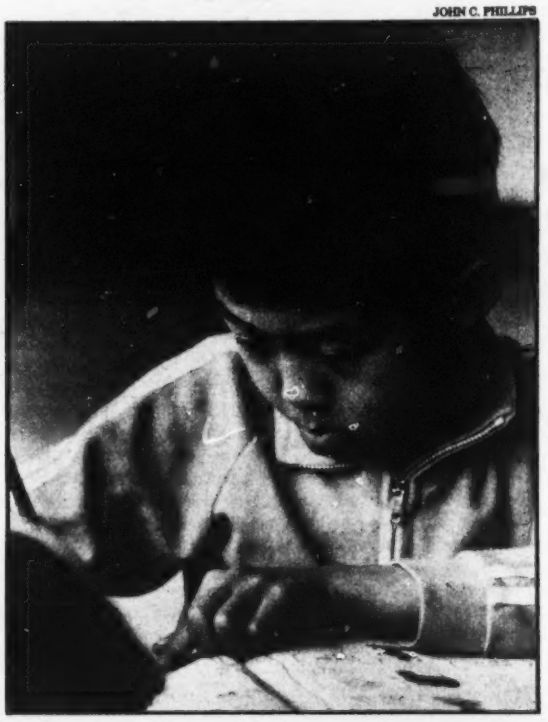


MIAMI HERALD—BOSS/BLACK STAR

BARBARA HADLEY

years ago in a landmark study alerting the nation to the existence of an invisible "other America" populated by "unskilled workers, the migrant farm workers, the aged, the minorities, and all the others who live in the economic underworld of American life."

The poor are still here. But there is also a growing recognition that the high toll of poverty is not limited to the personal tragedy of millions of individual Americans. Recent studies and reports have documented the enormous cost to society of poverty's progeny: illiteracy, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, violence, and crime.

And the eroding power of the United States in the world marketplace and the declining number of young people in the society have led to a growing awareness that the United States can no longer afford to waste a sixth or more of its human resources. If the nation is to prosper and be secure, business, the military, and academe must have an expanding supply of well-educated young people.

Translation: The schools must do a better job, must find ways to meet the demand.

Schools are in the vanguard. They have always been expected to cope: to fuel the various social and economic revolutions, to assimilate the waves of immigrants, to integrate the races, to uplift the handicapped, to substitute for the family—all the while instilling the common values and preserving the common culture. And as the stabilizing and socializing influence of home and church has waned, our reliance on the school has grown.

Carrying the problems of society, the children come, ready or not. And the schools must deal with them, ready or not.

In the past, they have succeeded remarkably well by any measure. Indeed, it is a testimony of progress that at-risk children are in classrooms at all.

It was not so long ago that many of them did not attend and their absence went unremarked. But now they are there, and the schools become for them the first hope—and perhaps the last.

In the following pages, *Education Week* looks at some of the major demographic forces that have shaped and are shaping the society, and explores, through a roundtable discussion, some of their implications for schooling.

Because demographics is the study of people and their vital statistics, it is hardly possible to write sensibly about demographic trends and forces without displaying an array of statistical calculations and projections. But underlying the numbers is a dynamic, perhaps even explosive, human condition.

Demography is a relatively new branch of the social sciences, but it is a powerful tool. One scholar has likened it to "celestial mechanics"—the search for huge, invisible engines that make social systems work the way they do.

For educators, says Mr. Hodgkinson, "demographics provides a truly new perception of educational systems as people in motion. By knowing the nature of those coming into 1st grade in the United States, one can forecast with some precision what the cohort of graduating high-school seniors will be like 12 years later, and can reveal with very little error what the entering college class will look like in the 13th year."

But public policy can influence human behavior, and, consequently, alter the direction of demographic and social trends. Governments, for example, can use tax policies to encourage or discourage individual decisions to marry, have a family, buy a home, seek a college degree, or retire.

Lawmakers may not be able to guarantee that all children learn, but they can allocate resources in ways that foster or limit the possibilities for learning. In short, policymakers and planners, with public support, can intervene to shape forces rather than simply be shaped by them.

As John I. Goodlad puts it in *A Place Called School:*

"Futurists have a tantalizing way of describing the year 2001 as though being there has little to do with getting there. The future simply arrives full-blown. But it is the succession of days and years between now and then that will determine what life will be like. Decisions made and not made will shape the schools of tomorrow."

—The Editors

Without a middle-class majority, we simply will not be the United States of America.
—Harold Hodgkinson

DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

DIVERSITY

The Patterns in Our Social Fabric Are Changing

Today, we are a nation of 240 million people, about 50 million (21 percent) of whom are black, Hispanic, and Asian. Although federal and private projections vary, they all point in the same direction: Soon after the turn of the century, one out of every three Americans will be nonwhite.

Immigration patterns and differential fertility rates among various groups are significantly changing the nation's racial composition.

In 1957, at the height of the Baby Boom, American women were having children at a rate of 3.7 per lifetime. Today, that rate has plummeted to 1.8, well below the 2.1 fertility rate that demographers say is necessary for one generation to replace itself with another of equal size.

The nation's population, however, will continue to grow, reaching 265 million in the year 2020. Much of that growth will be among minority groups in the society.

Currently, the fertility rate for white American women is 1.7 children per lifetime. The comparable rate for black women is 2.4; for Mexican-American women, it is 2.9—precisely the same average rate for white women during the Baby Boom era.

Moreover, the average white American is 31 years old; the average black American is only 25 and the average Hispanic American only 23. White Americans are moving out of their child-bearing years just as black and Hispanic Americans are moving into them.

In 1980, 27 percent of public-school students were nonwhite, a 6 percent increase from a decade earlier.

Most of the nonwhite student population is concentrated in a band of states that begins in New York, stretches southward down the Atlantic coast, and then westward, ending in California. Black enrollment is highest in the District of Columbia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia; Hispanic enrollment, meanwhile, is highest in New Mexico, Texas, California, and Arizona.

California now has a "majority of minorities" in its elementary schools; 46 percent of the students in Texas are black and Hispanic. In the 25 largest city school systems, the majority of students are minorities.

America has always been a nation of immigrants. The resulting ethnic and cultural diversity has given this society a distinctive vitality. But the assimilation of newcomers into the mainstream culture has been a difficult and tumultuous process that has sometimes strained the social fabric even as it strengthened it.

The first great period of immigration in this country was between 1910 and 1930, when the number of foreign-born Americans reached a peak 14.2 million. In 1984, some 544,000 people immigrated legally to the United States—roughly as many as the annual average during the 1920's. Add the estimated 300,000 to 500,000 people who entered the country illegally and 1984 becomes the greatest year for immigration in our history. Immigrants entering the United States each year account for two-thirds of all the immigrants in the world. If the nation continues to allow 750,000 immigrants to settle here annually, by 2030 the population will be about 18 percent larger than it would otherwise be.

During the early part of this century, the majority of immigrants to the United States were of European heritage, and the color of their skin undoubtedly eased their assimilation into the predominantly white American mainstream. Today, however, most are Hispanic and Asian. About 40 percent of all legal immigrants come from Asia and another 40 percent from Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. Three out of four of the illegal immigrants came from Latin America—50 percent from Mexico and 25 percent from other Central and South American countries.

Most parts of the nation as yet feel little impact from this wave of immigrants because the majority of the newcomers are choosing to settle in relatively few places. But in those areas, the effects have been astounding.

California provides the most extreme example. In 1984, 17.4 percent of all legal immigrants to the United States planned to move into one of five metropolitan areas in the state. Moreover, 30 percent of all the illegal immigrants counted in the 1980 census resided in Los Angeles County. Demographers predict that, as a combined result of low white birth rates and immigration, by 2010 California will become the first state in the union—with the exception of Hawaii—to have a population whose majority is made up of minorities.

Like a number of their predecessors in the early part of the century, many of today's immigrants are unwilling to abandon their cultures—and their native languages—as the price for becoming American. Today, the Southern California Gas Company can tell its customers in Chinese, Spanish, Korean, Vietnamese, and English how to install a gas stove.

Recently, a major market-research firm conducted a study for the Spanish International Network, a nationwide chain of 27 Spanish-language television stations, to determine what aspects of their culture Hispanics wanted most to preserve. More than 4 out of 5 of the respondents listed the preservation of the Spanish language as their top priority. ✦

UPI/BETTMAN ARCHIVES

JOHN C. PHILLIPS

JOHN C. PHILLIPS

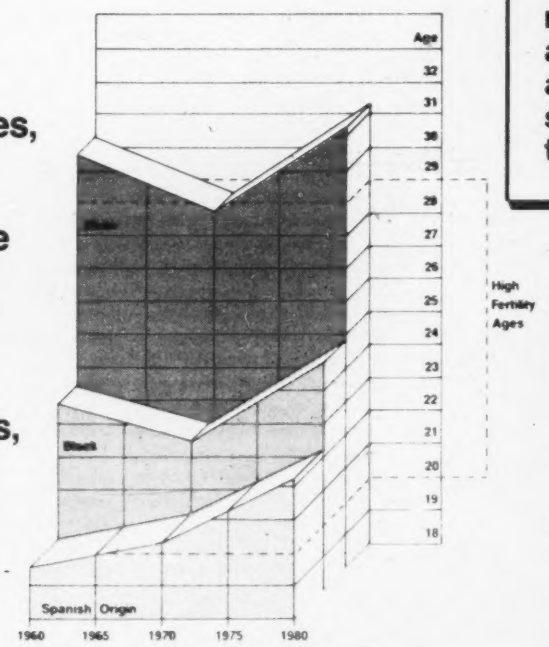
DOUGLAS GORALSKI

How tolerant will we be of the racial and ethnic diversity coming into the system? Each part of the country will have to deal with that.

—Harold Hodgkinson

Our ethnic and racial diversity is increasing rapidly. Immigration, legal and illegal, is at an all-time high, and the white fertility rate is at an all-time low. As a result, demographers say, by shortly after the year 2000 one out of three Americans will be nonwhite.

Older Whites, Younger Minorities: Median Age of White, Black, and Spanish Origin Populations, 1960-1980



Source: Association for Hispanic Elderly

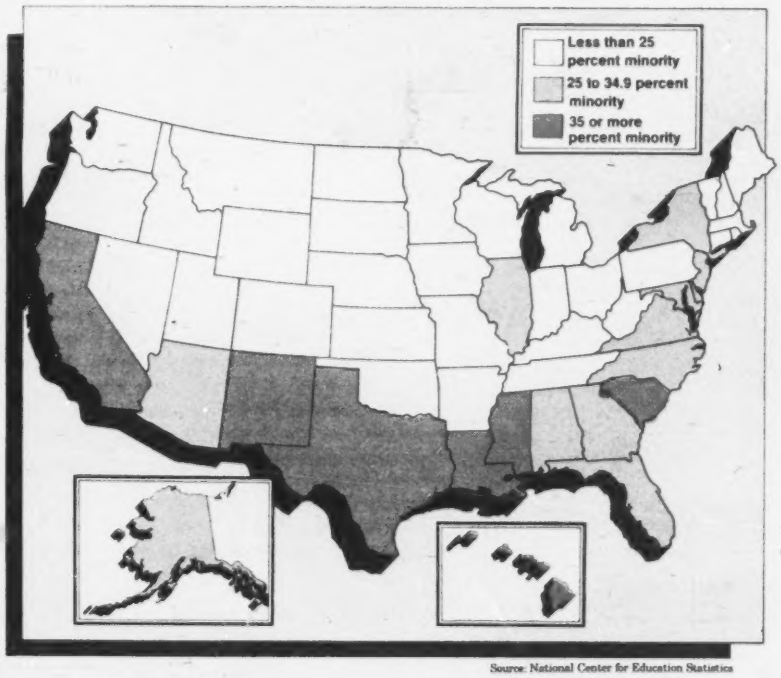
Children of Color: Births by Race, 1950 to 2030

(numbers in thousands)

Year	Total births	Black-and-other-races births	Percent Black and other races
Estimates:			
1950	3,631.5	523.9	14.4
1955	4,097.2	612.5	14.9
1960	4,297.4	675.1	15.7
1965	3,791.1	649.7	17.1
1970	3,757.2	650.0	17.3
1975	3,167.5	601.3	19.0
1980	3,638.8	724.0	19.9
1982	3,731.2	725.4	19.4
Projections:			
1985	3,826.2	750.1	19.6
1990	3,849.1	774.7	20.1
1995	3,827.9	759.6	20.9
2000	3,494.8	768.1	22.0
2010	3,673.2	842.9	22.9
2030	3,546.9	875.9	24.7

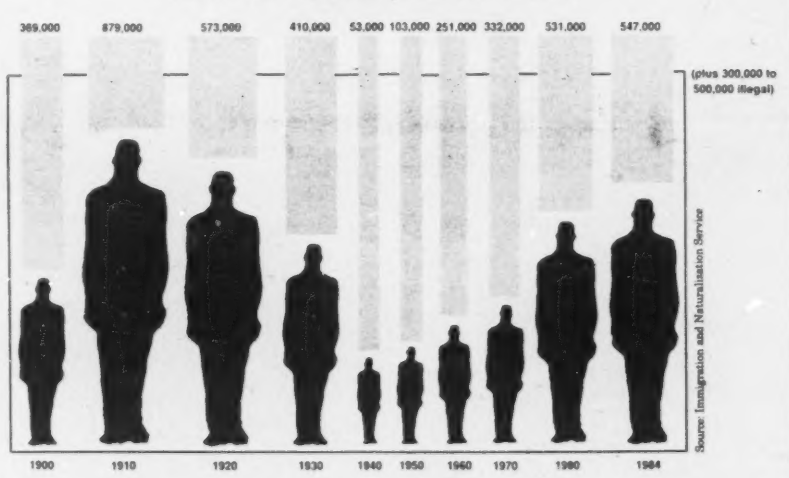
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Minorities in School: Minority Enrollment as Percent of Public School Enrollment, by State, 1980

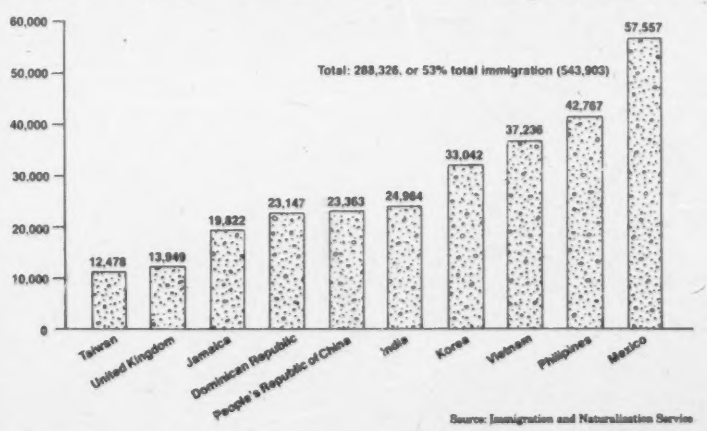


Source: National Center for Education Statistics

The American Melting Pot: Immigration to the United States, 1900-1984

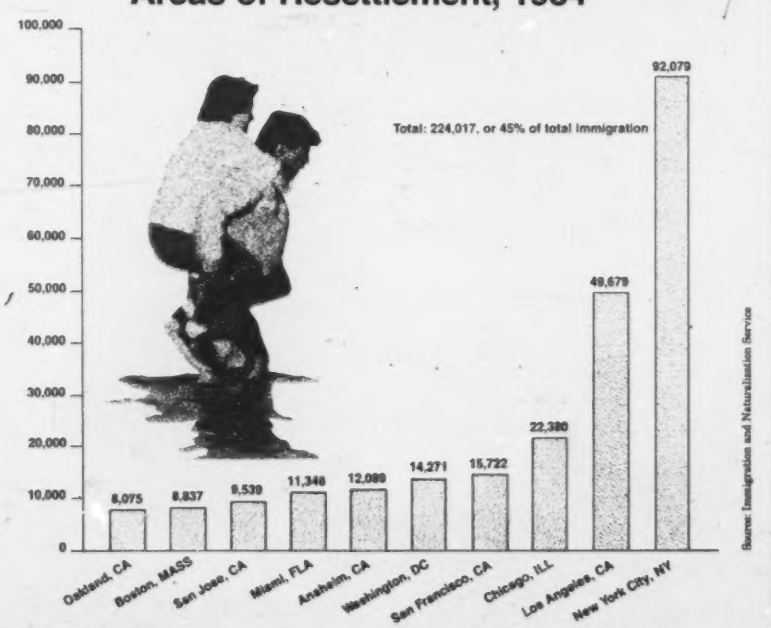


Legal Immigration: Where They Are Coming From—Top 10 Countries of Origin, 1984



Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service

... And Where They Are Going—Top 10 Intended Areas of Resettlement, 1984



DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

AGE

Old Americans, Young Americans

Between 1946 and 1964, 70 million Americans were born—more than in any previous two decades in the country's history. That "Baby Boom" of the post-World War II era has profoundly affected every aspect of our national life—and it will continue to do so as it moves through the system like a very large mouse through a very small snake.

The Baby Boom has caused a seeming demographic anomaly: The nation is growing both older and younger at the same time.

In 1983, we passed a demographic watershed. For the first time in our history, the number of Americans over age 65 surpassed the number of American teen-agers. That is a situation that will not change during the lifetime of anyone reading this report. Today, the median age of the U.S. population is just over 30 years. By the turn of the century, the median age will reach 36; shortly after 2030, it will pass 40. One hundred years from now, the median age of the population will be 42, more than 10 years

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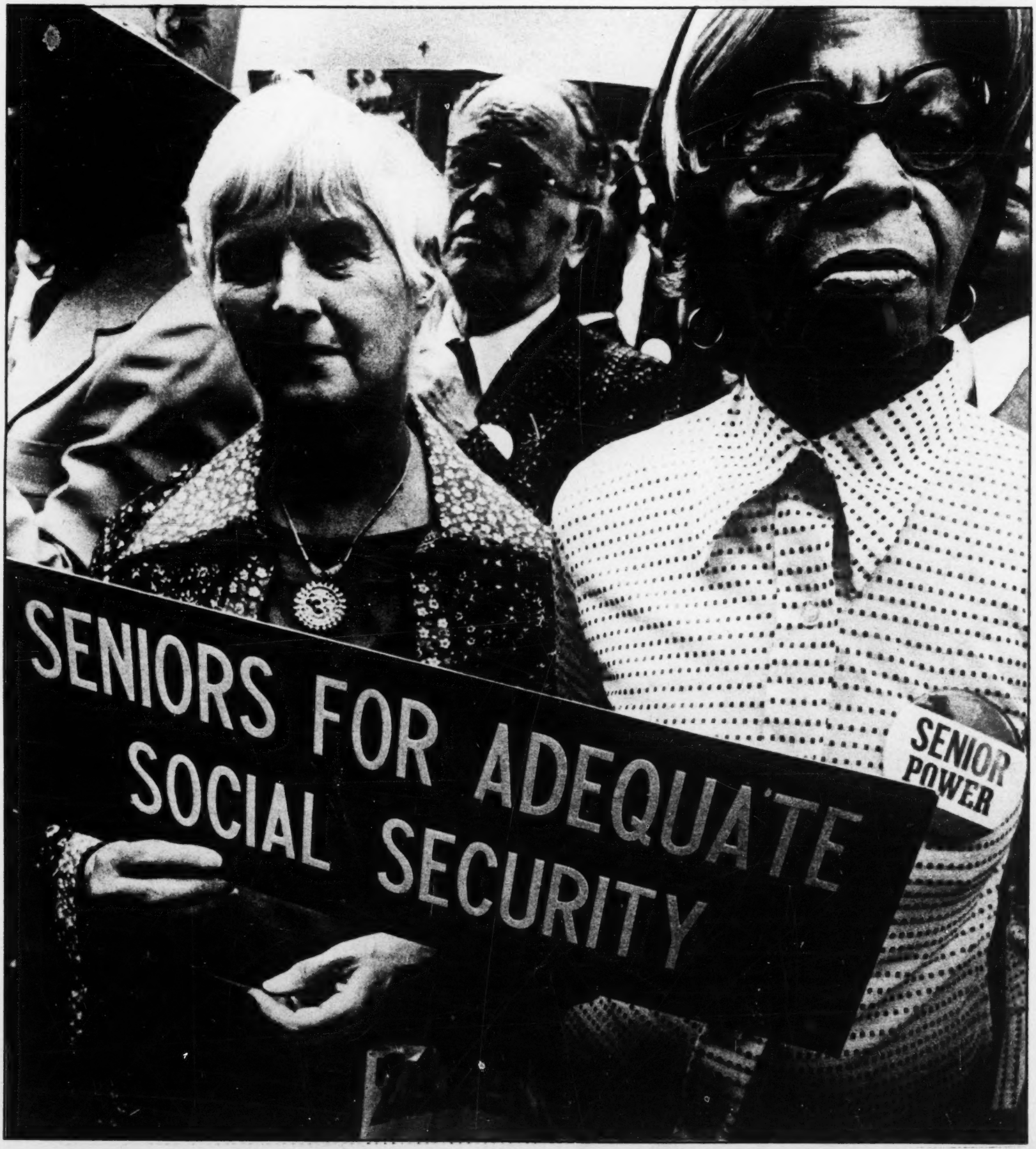


DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

AGE

We Are Growing Older and Younger

Continued from Preceding Page

older than the median age today.

Even more striking are predictions regarding life expectancy. Today, about 1 out of 10 Americans (11.6 percent) is 65 or older; by 2030, 1 out of 5 Americans will be over 65 (21.2 percent). Ghildren born today can expect to live and work to age 62, then retire and live for almost 20 more years.

Another measure of the phenomenon: This year, about 30 people a day are turning 100. By 2030, when the last of the Baby Boomers reach retirement age, about 280 people a day will do so.

The Baby Boomers have not been nearly as prolific as their parents. But even though they are not quite replacing themselves on a one-for-one basis, the sheer numbers of children they are having are producing a second, if smaller, bulge in the population—a "baby boomlet." This six-year blip on the population charts will pass through our schools by the end of the century. But it is beginning to be felt in some parts of the nation and it will boost enrollments in preschools and elementary schools into the next decade.

The post-World War II Baby Boom was mainly a white middle-class phenomenon; in 1955, more than 85 percent of all newborns were white. By 1984, that percentage had dropped to 80 percent and it is expected to continue falling well into the 21st century. The emerging baby boomlet, and the cohorts of children born after it ends, will be disproportionately nonwhite.

Between 1985 and 1993, elementary-school enrollment is expected to increase by about 4.5 million. The number of children 18 and younger is expected to rise from about 63 million today to 67 million by the end of the century.

National figures, however, often mask major differences among the states. The nation's population is heavily concentrated in the East and will remain so for the foreseeable future. For example, more than 50 percent of all zip code areas are located in the Eastern time zone; 30 percent are in the Central zone, 5 percent in the Mountain zone, and 14 percent in the Pacific zone.

But Americans are highly mobile and population shifts will dramatically affect some states—and their schools.

The population ages 19 and younger will grow by 20 percent or more in 13 states between 1980 and 2000. All but one of those states—New Hampshire—are in the West. This age group will more than double in 3 states: in Wyoming, it will grow by 120 percent; in Nevada, by 103 percent; and in Utah, by 102 percent.

Five states, meanwhile, will experience a decline of 20 percent or more in their 19-and-under populations. These states include New York (- 27 percent), Massachusetts (- 24 percent), Rhode Island (- 22 percent), Connecticut (- 22 percent), and Pennsylvania (- 21 percent).

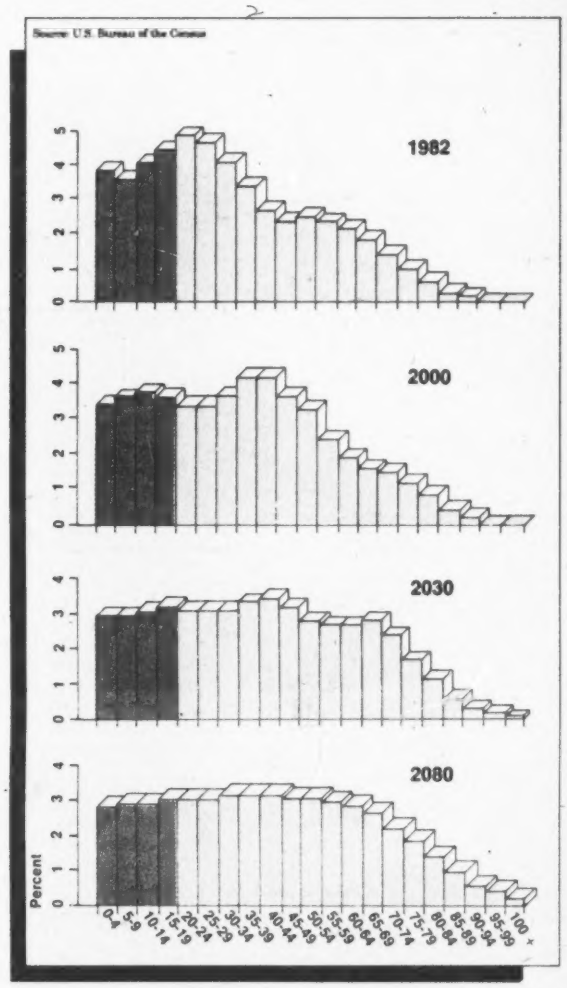
Over the past five years, the U.S. population has increased by 12.2 million; almost all of that increase (more than 90 percent) occurred in Southern and Western states. The West grew by 10.8 percent, or double the national average for those years, and the South by 8.6 percent. The figures indicate a continuing migratory trend toward the Sun Belt states that began in the late 1940's and picked up dramatically in the 1970's.

Some experts, however, believe that the exodus from the Midwestern "Rust Bowl" has been stemmed, at least temporarily. Last summer, Detroit created more new jobs than Houston, where 20 percent of all office space is unrented. ✦

ABC-TV

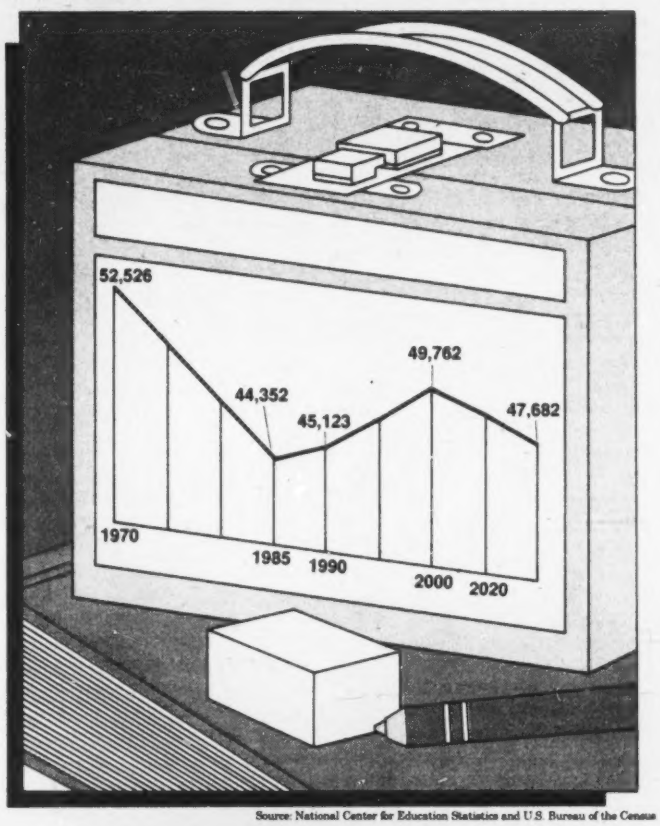
A relatively small "baby boomlet" will boost school enrollments through the end of the century. But America is growing steadily older. There are now more people over 65 than under 18. Between 2011 and 2030, close to 70 million Americans will retire.

The Graying of America: Current and Projected Percent Distribution of the Population, by Age



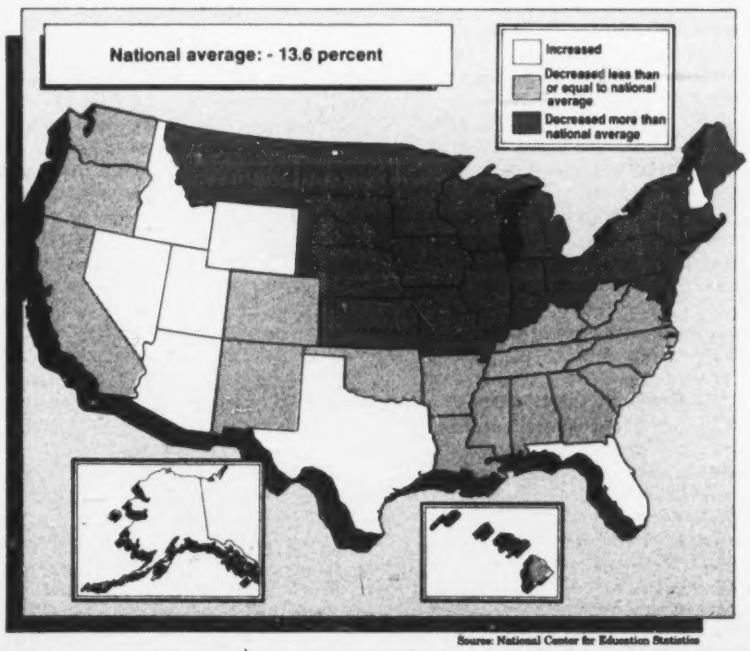
The Coming Baby Boomlet: Number of School Age Children

(In thousands)



Source: National Center for Education Statistics and U.S. Bureau of the Census

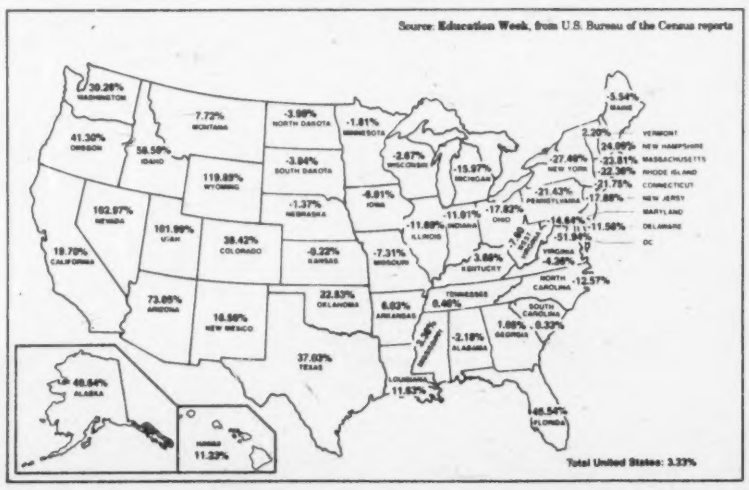
Empty Seats and Overcrowding: Percent Change in Public School Enrollment, by State, 1970 to 1982


National average: - 13.6 percent
Increased
Decreased less than or equal to national average
Decreased more than national average

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

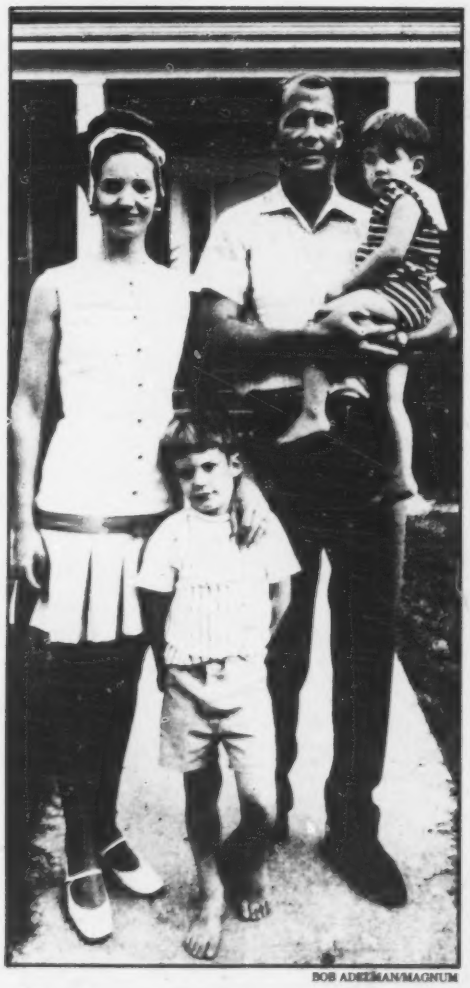
Looking Toward 2001: Projected Percent Change in State Populations, 19 and under, 1980 to 2000

Source: **Education Week**, from U.S. Bureau of the Census reports

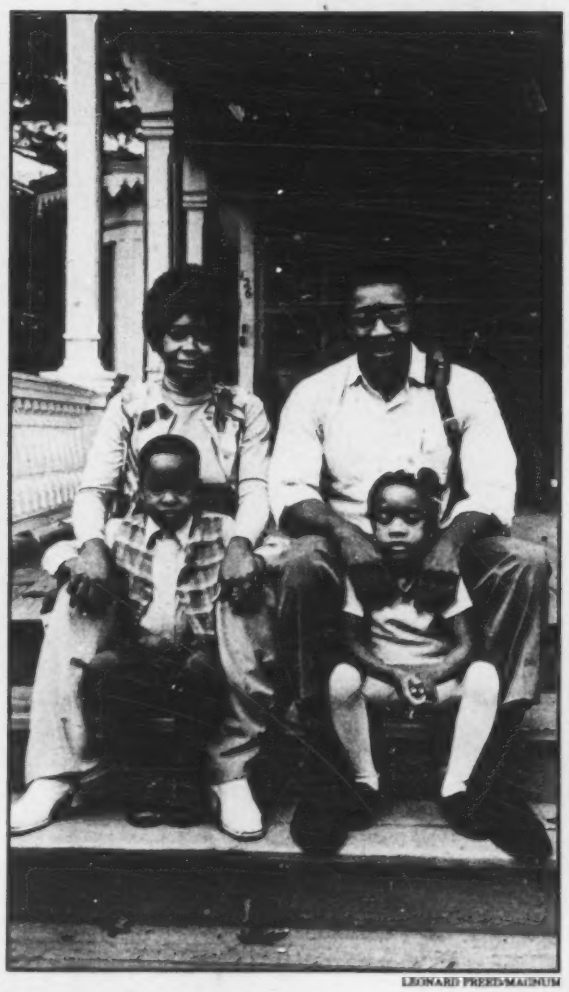


DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

FAMILY



BOB ADELMAN/MAGNUM



LEONARD FREED/MAGNUM

JOHN C. PHILLIPS

Traditional Families — A Dying Breed?

The "traditional" household—a working father, a mother at home, and two or more school-aged children—has long been one of the icons of American culture. In 1955, about 60 percent of the nation's households matched that image. But by 1980, the proportion had dropped to 11 percent, and today only 4 percent of the nation's households are "traditional."

Married couples with children, once the norm, are now the exception. Family lifestyles are more diverse than they ever have been. Of our 80 million households, almost 20 million consist of people living alone. Another 9.5 million consist of women raising children by themselves.

An increasing number of people are postponing marriage and childbearing to pursue educational and career opportunities. In 1984, the estimated median age of women beginning their first marriage was 23, the highest median age since 1890—the year the Census Bureau began keeping track of such statistics. For men, the median age is now 25, one year shy of its high at the turn of the century.

In 1981, we passed another statistical landmark: The number of married, childless couples surpassed the number of married couples with children. By 1985, there were 24 million married couples with children, compared with 26 million that had none. The trend shows no signs of reversing itself.

Today, a steadily increasing percentage of women are choosing to have children later in life, or not at all; of all women ages 18 through 44, nearly 2 out of 5 have never given birth.

Since 1970, the number of first births to women ages 25 and older has doubled, while first births to women younger than 25 have declined. The biggest increase has been among women ages 30 to 34. Their first births have tripled, from 42,000 in 1970 to 137,000 in 1982.

More and more women who decide to have children are combining employment and motherhood. Today, 7 out of 10 women between the ages of 17 and 44 are in the workforce. Moreover, women are going to work much sooner after giving birth than they ever have before. Nearly half of all women who had children in 1983 (47 percent) were back on the job within one year; in 1975, 31 percent of the women who had children went back to work within a year.

The incidence of divorce has also risen dramatically over the past two decades. In 1960, there were 393,000 divorces in America; by 1985, that number had increased more than threefold to 1,187,000. The change in the ratio of divorced persons to married persons during those years was even greater. In 1960, there were 33 divorced persons for every 1,000 married persons who still lived with their spouses; by 1984, the ratio had nearly quadrupled to 121 to 1,000.

Most children under 18 continue to live with two parents, but their numbers are declining, from 59 million (84 percent) in 1970 to 47 million (75 percent) in 1984. Conversely, the number of children living in one-parent families has skyrocketed, from just over 8 million (12 percent) in 1970 to 14 million (23 percent) in 1984. Six out of 10 children born in 1983 (59 percent) will live with only one parent before reaching age 18. More than 50 percent of all black children today live with one parent, compared with 25 percent of all Hispanic children, and 16 percent of all white children.

Of the 14 million children who grow up in single-parent households, 9 out of 10 live in families headed by single females. Statistically, the family situation of these children looks like this:

- 16 percent have mothers who are under 25, and 3.5 percent have teen-age mothers;
- 36 percent have mothers who did not complete high school;
- 50 percent have mothers who are unemployed or not in the labor force;
- 62 percent of such families have annual incomes under $10,000;
- 42 percent of such families live in central cities;
- 24 percent of the children living in these situations were born out of wedlock.

There is an epidemic of teen-age pregnancy in the United States. In 1983, there were nearly 500,000 births to girls under 20, accounting for 14 percent of all births that year. More than half of those teen-age births (55 percent) were to unmarried girls, and the majority of their 1 million pregnancies were unintended; nearly 400,000 ended in abortion. About 10,000 of those births (2 percent) were to girls under 15; 175,000 (35 percent) were to girls between 15 and 17; and 315,000 (63 percent) were to 18- and 19-year-olds.

The number of births among teen-agers has been declining over the past decade, largely, say experts, because of the decline in the number of teen-agers in the population and the availability of birth-control devices and legal abortion. Nonetheless, the number of teens who become pregnant every year continues to increase, as does the number of unmarried teens who give birth. And the United States continues to lead most developed and developing nations in its rate of teen-age pregnancy.

Although blacks account for only about 15 percent of the teen-age population, half of all births to teens in 1983 were to black mothers. The overall birth rate for teen-age blacks, however, has been declining, while the birth rate for white teens (still below that for blacks) is increasing.

Premature babies tend to be low-birthweight babies, have poorly developed immune systems, grow up to be less healthy on the average than others, and later exhibit learning difficulties more often. About 20 percent of such children born in America are born to teen-agers. Teen-age mothers also tend to give birth to children who become teen-age mothers themselves. If a girl gives birth to one child in her teens, there is a 1-in-3 chance that she will have a second child as well. In fact, every day in America 40 teen-agers give birth to their third child.

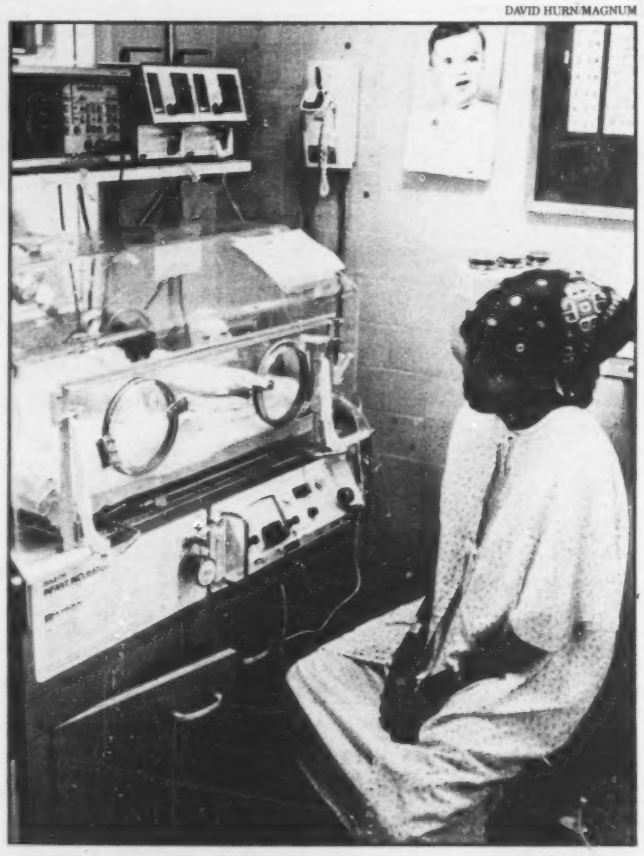
Nearly half (43 percent) of all young women who drop out of school do so because of pregnancy or marriage. Half of all teen-age mothers drop out of school and never return. Teen-age fathers are about 40 percent less likely to graduate than their peers who do not father children. ✦

JOHN C. PHILLIPS

We have allowed the family to disintegrate. Thirteen-year-olds are having children they are in no position to give values to.

—Donald Smith

DAVID HURN/MAGNUM



DAVID HURN/MAGNUM

The "traditional" family—a mother, father, and two children—is vanishing. Single-parent families, mostly headed by women, are becoming commonplace, and 20 million Americans live alone. Every day in America 40 teen-agers give birth to their third child.

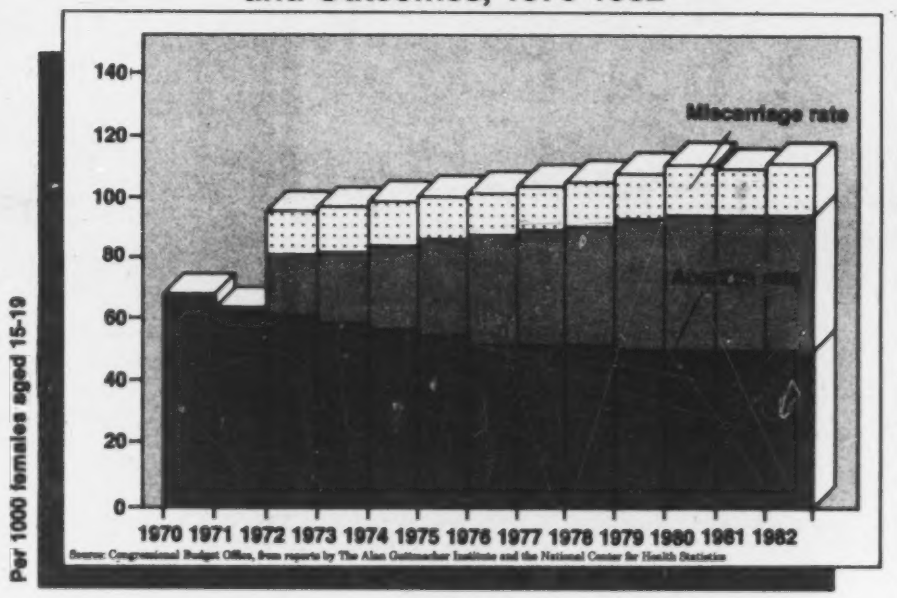
Mothers on Their Own: Living Arrangements of Children Under 18; 1984, 1980, and 1970

(numbers in thousands)

Living arrangements of children and marital status of parent	1984				1980	1970
	Race			Spanish Origin		
	All Races	White	Black			
Total, all children under 18	62,139	50,820	9,375	5,625	63,427	69,162
Living with two parents	46,555	41,009	3,845	3,946	48,624	58,939
Living with mother only	12,646	7,841	4,705	1,399	11,406	7,451
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Living with two parents	74.9	81.0	41.0	70.2	76.7	85.2
Living with mother only	20.4	15.1	50.2	24.9	18.0	10.8

JOHN C. PHILLIPS

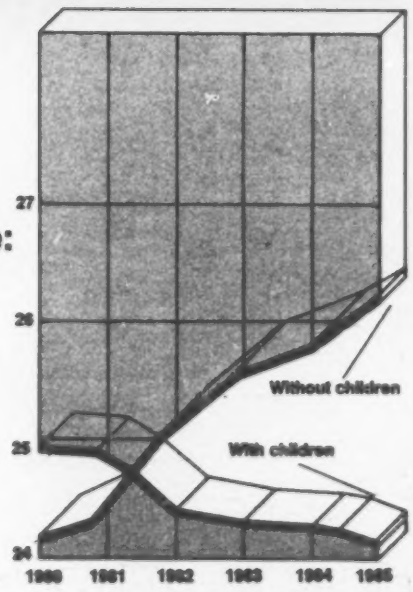
An Epidemic of Pregnancy: Teen-age Pregnancy Rate and Outcomes, 1970-1982



Source: Congressional Budget Office, from reports by The Alan Guttmacher Institute and the National Center for Health Statistics

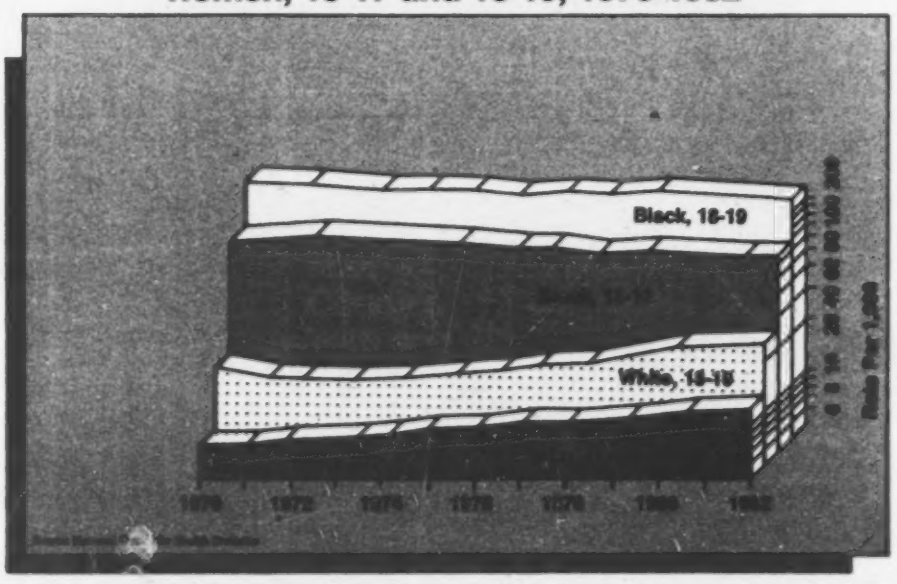
Living Alone: Married Couples With and Without Children

(in millions)



Source: American Demographics

... And Illegitimacy: Birth Rates for Unmarried Women, 15-17 and 18-19, 1970-1982



BRIAN E. BLAUSER/BLACK STAR

DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

CORRELATIONS

Who's Dependent Upon Whom?

A growing percentage of the nation's children are being born into, and growing up in, environments that in one way or another endanger their physical, emotional, and intellectual development.

In 1974, children became the poorest segment of American society, displacing the aged.

Since then, child poverty has grown deeper and more widespread. In 1984, nearly one-fourth of all children under 17 lived in poverty, including 1 of every 2 black children and 2 of every 5 Hispanic children. Today, there are approximately 13.8 million children under age 18 who live in families with annual incomes below the poverty line of $10,178 for a family of four. Most of them are white, but a disproportionate number are black and Hispanic.

The rapid growth of households headed by single females has led to much of the overall increase (about 40 percent) in the number of poor families since 1980. One out of every 3 such families lives in poverty, and 2 out of every 3 families headed by single black and single Hispanic females live in poverty.

The continuing high birth rates among teen-agers also contribute to the growing number of families living in poverty. Although economic data on this part of the population are sparse, some studies suggest that families headed by teen-age mothers are 7 times as likely as other families to live below the poverty line. That suggests that 8 out of 10 families headed by teen-age girls live in poverty. State and federal governments paid out $16.7 billion in 1985 in welfare aid to mothers who had children during their teen-age years.

The at-risk population now entering the schools is appearing at a time when the nation's attention and resources are of necessity being drawn to the problems and needs of an even faster-growing segment of the U.S. population—the aging.

Social scientists use a numerical device known as the "dependency ratio" to measure and forecast the ability of society to take care of those who cannot care for themselves. It shows how many children and elderly persons there are for every 100 workers between the ages of 18 and 64.

The dependency ratio for children under 18, which has been declining since 1965, is now 42.1 per 100 workers. The dependency ratio for those 65 and over, meanwhile, has reached 19.4 per 100 workers and is continuing to rise. According to current projections, by the year 2030 American adults will be in the position of having to care for an equal number of children and retirees. In other words, every 100 workers will be supporting 74 dependents, equally divided between the young and the old.

The workers bearing the responsibility for supporting this expanding, longer-living senior population will be, in large measure, the young people of today and tomorrow—including the growing "at-risk" group. If current demographic patterns hold, the workers on which the aging society will so heavily depend will be fewer in number, more racially and ethnically diverse, more likely to have grown up in poverty, more likely to be the progeny of broken homes, and more likely to suffer from physical, mental, and emotional handicaps.

In 1950, 17 working Americans contributed through Social Security to the pension of each retiree. Today, 3.4 workers are paying toward the pension of each retiree, and analysts predict that soon after the turn of the century, the number of workers supporting a single retiree could fall as low as 1.5.

The nation's health-care system for the elderly faces even graver problems. Experts are predicting that the Medicare hospital trust fund, which currently provides care to about 27 million elderly persons, will be depleted by sometime in the mid-1990's.

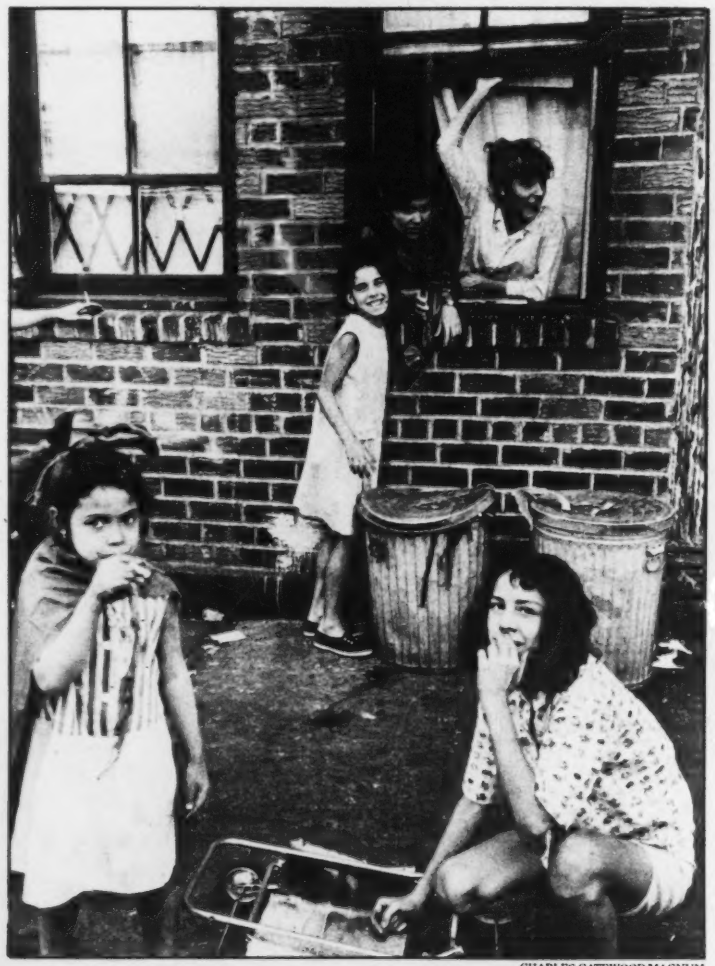
As the older segment of the population grows in size, it will also grow in political influence—already, the number of eligible voters ages 65 and over slightly outnumbers those ages 18 to 24. The concern of many educators and policymakers is that older citizens without children, worried about their pensions and their health care, will be less willing to support the rising costs of education.

Although the possibility of a generational war in the future, raised by some obeervers, may be extreme, concern is mounting about the potential for strife between the young and old. Recently, an organization called Americans for Generational Equity was formed in Washington, D.C. The idea of U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, AGE is intended to represent the interests of the younger generation destined to bear the heavy financial and social costs of the aging Baby Boomers. The group says it will promote "the long-term welfare of younger and future generations of Americans." ✦

When you talk about the real underclass, then you are talking about blacks, Hispanics, and Appalachian whites and Native Americans. With those populations, poverty seems to be permanent.

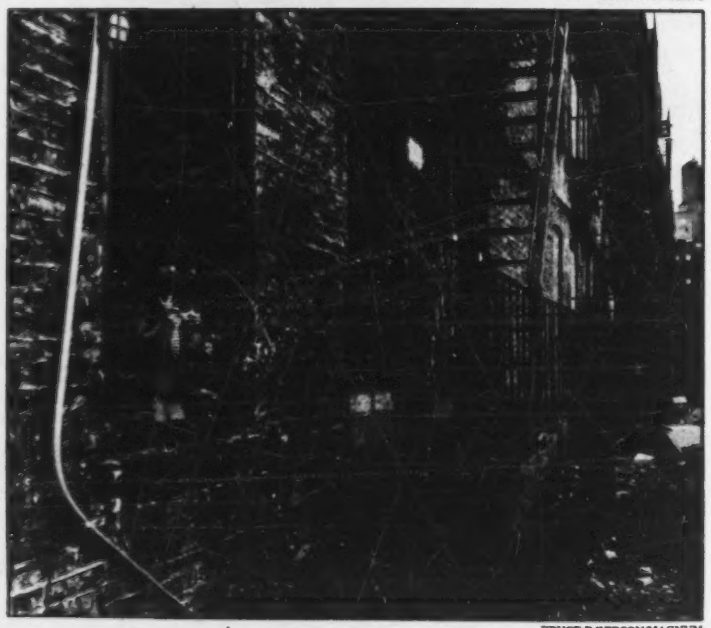
—Raul Yzaguirre

HIROJI KUBOTA/MAGNUM



CHARLES GATEWOOD/MAGNUM

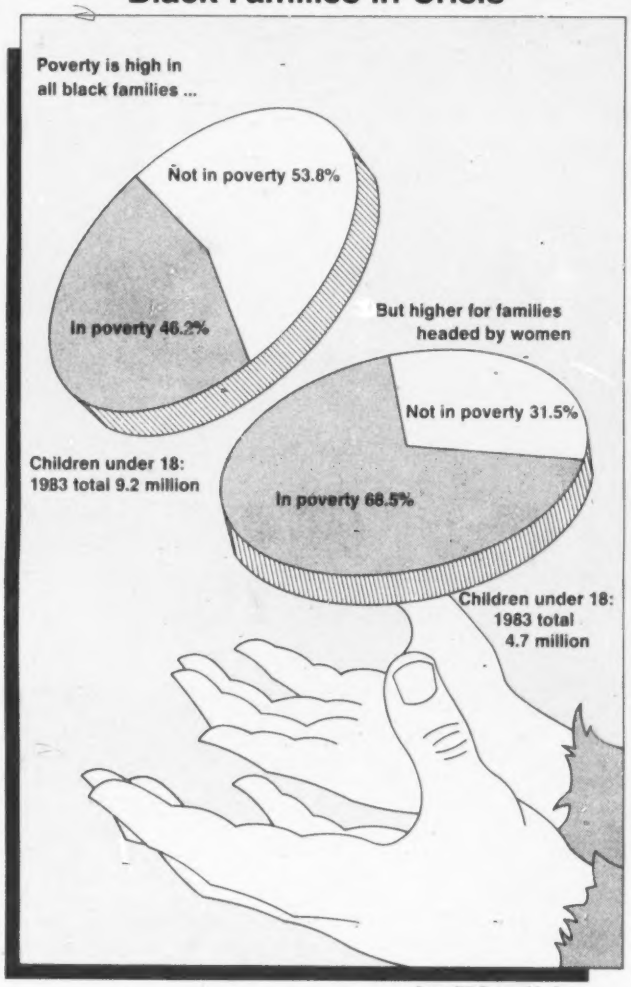
JOHN C. PHILLIPS



BRUCE DAVIDSON/MAGNUM

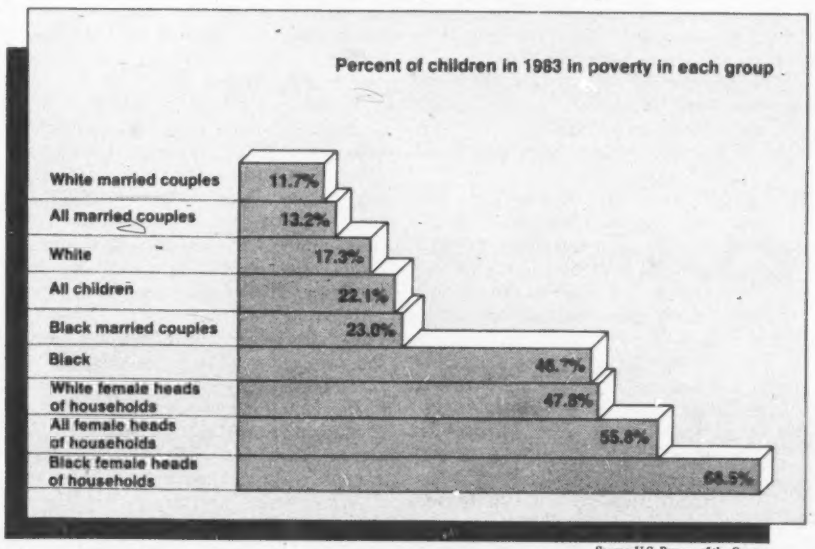
About one in four American children lives in poverty; they are the largest group of impoverished Americans. More than half the children living in households headed by single women are poor. A black child is about three times as likely as a white child to be born into poverty; a Hispanic child is more than twice as likely to be poor.

Black Families in Crisis


Poverty is high in all black families ...
Not in poverty 53.8%
In poverty 46.2%
But higher for families headed by women
Not in poverty 31.5%
In poverty 68.5%
Children under 18: 1983 total 9.2 million
Children under 18: 1983 total 4.7 million

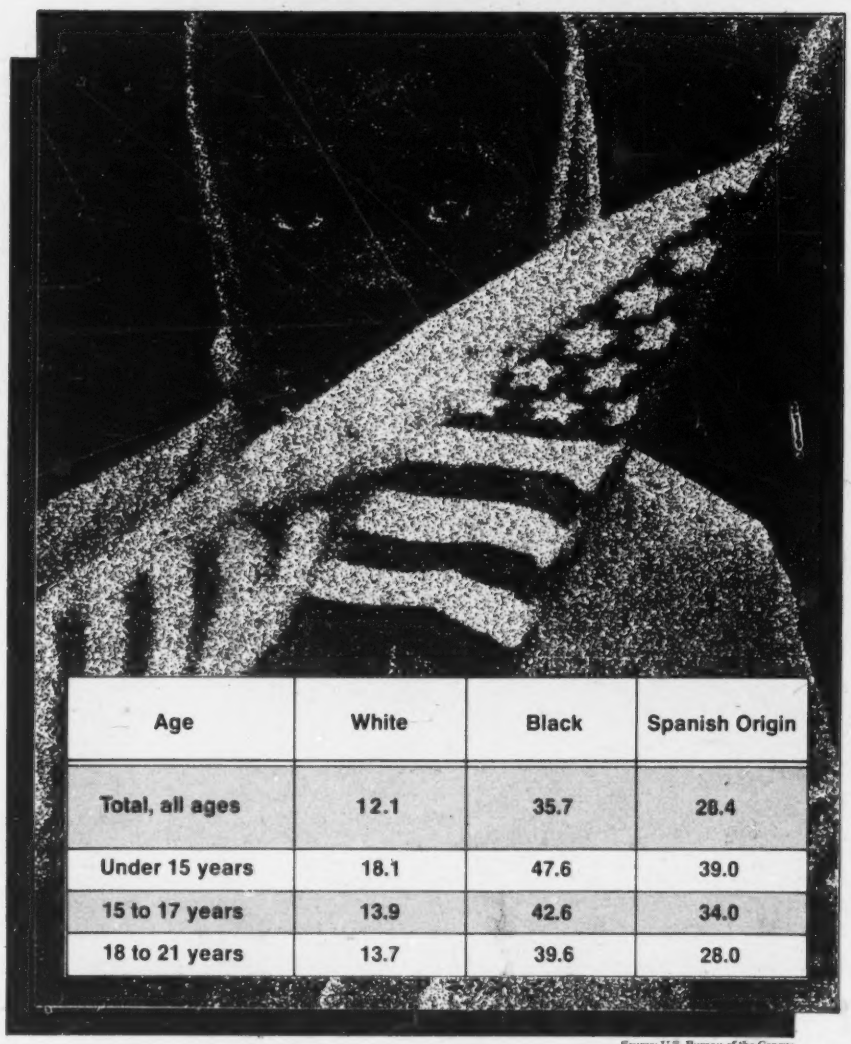
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

The Hierarchy of Poverty


Percent of children in 1983 in poverty in each group
White married couples 11.7%
All married couples 13.2%
White 17.3%
All children 22.1%
Black married couples 23.0%
Black 46.7%
White female heads of households 47.8%
All female heads of households 55.8%
Black female heads of households 68.5%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

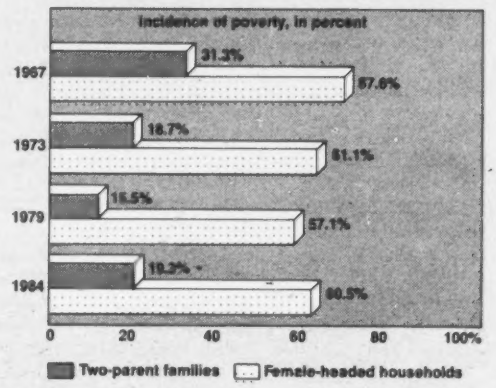
Children in Poverty: Percentages by Age and Race, 1983



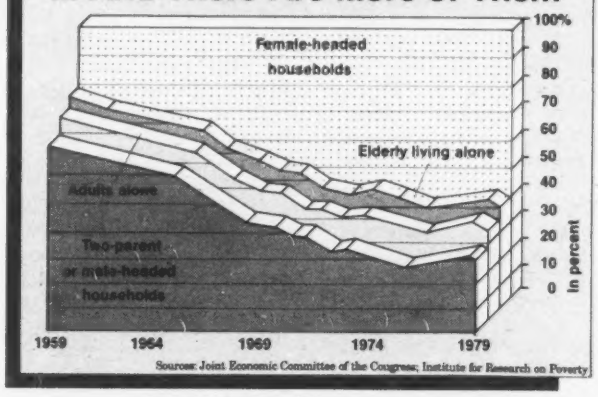
Age	White	Black	Spanish Origin
Total, all ages	12.1	35.7	28.4
Under 15 years	18.1	47.6	39.0
15 to 17 years	13.9	42.6	34.0
18 to 21 years	13.7	39.6	28.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Black Families Headed by Women Most Are as Poor as Ever



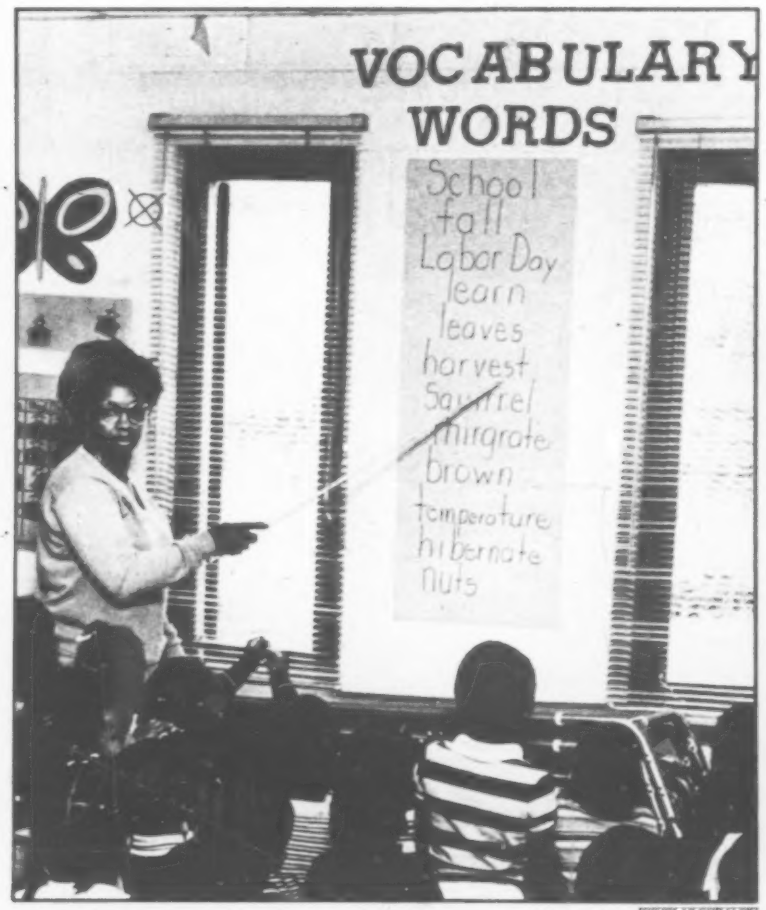
... And There Are More of Them


Female-headed households
Elderly living alone
Adults alone
Two-parent or male-headed households
100% 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0
In percent
1959 1964 1969 1974 1979

Sources: Joint Economic Committee of the Congress; Institute for Research on Poverty

DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

SCHOOLING



DOUGLAS GORALSKI

> We know what the problems are. We also know what the solutions are. We may not know how to cure cancer, but we know how to deal with these issues.
>
> —David Hornbeck

RICHARD YOUNKER/BLACK STAR

At Risk: Pupils and Their Teachers

In the years ahead, the population diversity that Americans consider a hallmark of their democracy will become more pronounced. For educators, that will mean working with cohorts of children more ethnically and racially diverse than ever before—and more of whom will bring with them the array of "risk" factors that bode ill for their development.

A growing proportion of America's young people will be poor, nonwhite, limited-English-proficient, and from broken families in which parents themselves lack education. Can schools prepare these generations for higher education, work, and active citizenship? Consider the record to date:

- Despite modest gains in recent years, black and Hispanic children on the average continue to score far below their white peers on standardized tests. Average scores for blacks and Hispanics on the Scholastic Aptitude Test's verbal and mathematics sections are about 100 points lower than those for whites. Black and Hispanic children also consistently score below, and whites consistently above, the national means on the various subject-matter tests administered by the National Assessment of Educational Progress.

In 1974, NAEP conducted a one-time "mini-assessment" of functional literacy among 17-year-olds. The test measured such skills as the ability to locate and dial the telephone-information number in New York City and to determine the maximum amount of medical coverage allowable under an auto-insurance policy. More than 91 percent of the white students who took the test passed. More than 40 percent of the black children and 30 percent of the other minority children who took the test failed.

- In spite of improvement over time, minority children are still far more likely than whites to drop out of high school. In 1983, more than three-fourths of all white 18- and 19-year-olds were high-school graduates; slightly less than 60 percent of all blacks and slightly more than 50 percent of all Hispanics in the same age group could claim that achievement. Data from a 1979 Census Bureau study showed that 35 percent of Hispanics and 25.5 percent of blacks ages 18 through 21 had dropped out of school, compared with only 15.5 percent of all whites of similar age.

Moreover, some educators worry that stiffened graduation and promotion policies enacted in the current school-reform movement will force even more minority students to drop out. As of 1984, only a handful of states that had raised their standards included provisions aimed at helping students who did not achieve the new goals.

- Black and Hispanic children who do graduate from high school are less likely than white graduates to enroll in college, and the college-going rate for minority graduates has been falling. Almost 30 percent more blacks graduated from high school in 1982 than in 1975, but black enrollment in college dropped 11 percent during the same period. High-school graduation rates for Hispanics increased 38 percent during that period, but Hispanic college enrollment declined by 16 percent.

The percentage of degrees awarded to minority college students is also declining. Only 6.5 percent of all bachelor's degrees awarded in 1981 went to black students, compared with 10 percent of such degrees in 1976. The percentage of master's degrees awarded to blacks also fell from 6.6 percent to 5.8 percent over the same period. The percentage of bachelor's and master's degrees awarded to Hispanic students, meanwhile, increased by less than 1 percent (from 2 percent to 2.3 percent of all bachelor's degrees and from 1.7 percent to 2.2 percent of all master's degrees).

- Even as the number of minority students increases, the scarcity of minority teachers is becoming acute. Not only are fewer minority students going to college, but a smaller percentage of those who do are deciding to major in education. Between 1976 and 1983, the percentage of bachelor's degrees in education awarded to blacks declined by 52 percent; the percentage of such degrees awarded to Hispanics climbed by only a fraction of a percent.

The growing trend toward requiring prospective teachers to pass competency tests in order to be licensed is likely to shrink the pool of minority teachers even more.

At the same time that the indicators for minority groups' academic success seem negative, the education community faces broader uncertainties about the size and quality of the overall teaching force in the years ahead.

The average age of the American teacher is now 42, and about half of the 2.1 million teachers working today will retire, resign, or die in the next six years. Meanwhile, only half as many college students are majoring in education as did so in 1972. The U.S. Education Department projects that by 1993, elementary and secondary schools will need 211,000 new teachers each year but that schools of education will be graduating only 133,000 teacher candidates, a shortfall of about 37 percent.

In many states, particularly in the Sun Belt, the shortage of teachers is already severe. Policymakers and educators are adopting alternative routes to certification, creating incentives to lure young people into the profession, raising salaries, and mounting vigorous teacher-recruitment programs.

Knowledgeable observers are contending that the real "crisis" in teaching will be one of quality. The shortage, they say, will not be a shortage of teachers, but a shortage of *qualified* teachers.

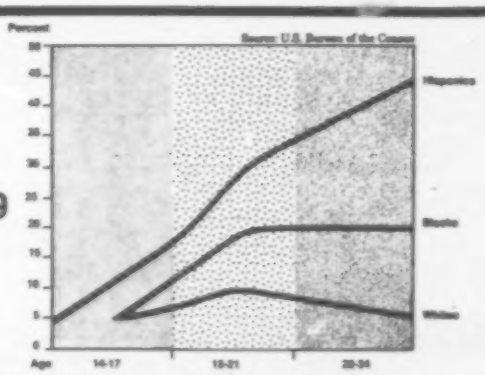
About 20 percent of all teachers are now teaching in fields for which they are not certified or eligible for certification; in subject areas such as mathematics and science, more than half of today's teachers have substandard qualifications.

Moreover, the teaching profession is attracting and retaining fewer academically able young people than it has in the past. The average S.A.T. scores of students planning to major in education traditionally have been lower than those for other students and have been declining at a relatively steeper rate in recent years. In addition, a study of women who entered the teaching profession in North Carolina in 1973 revealed that almost two-thirds of those who scored in the top decile on the National Teachers Examination had left the profession by 1980.

To assure that there is a teacher in every classroom, states and districts will very likely provide for emergency certification and alternative routes to certification. And that, many educators warn, could lead to a generation of teachers ill-prepared and ill-equipped to provide a meaningful education for the burgeoning at-risk populations. ✦

Black and Hispanic children continue to lag far behind their white peers on most measures of educational achievement. About 35 percent of Hispanics and 25 percent of blacks ages 18-21 are high-school dropouts.

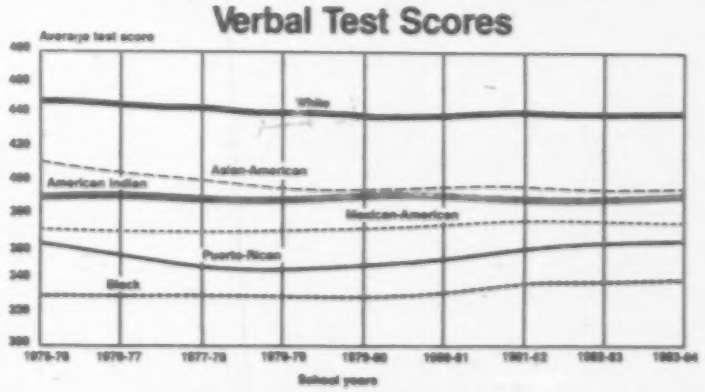
Dropping Out: Rates by Age and Race, 1979



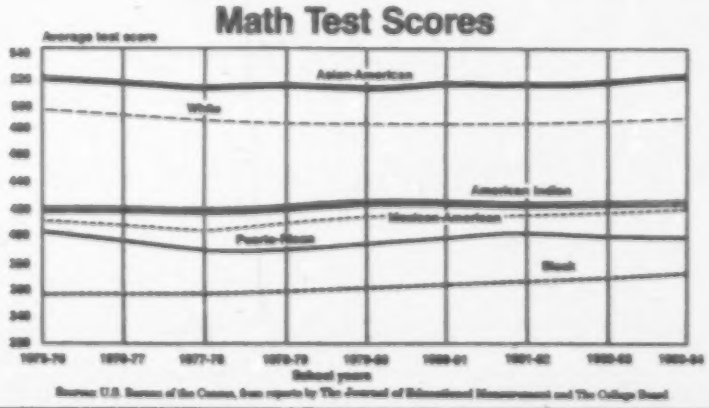
Special Children, Special Needs: A Measure of Relative Need for Special Educational Services Based on Demographic Characteristics

The Achievement Gap: SAT Averages by Ethnicity 1975-76 to 1983-84

Verbal Test Scores

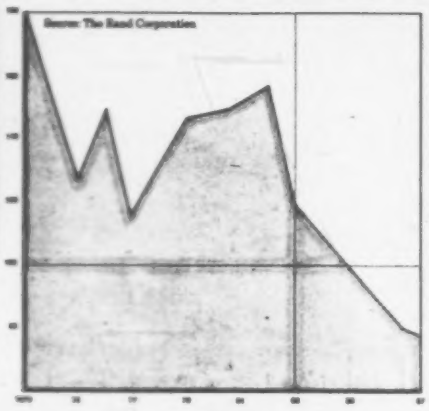


Math Test Scores

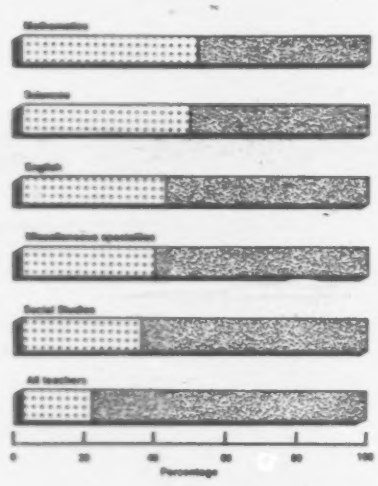


Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, from reports by The Journal of Educational Measurement and The College Board

The Teaching Crisis



Concerns About the Quantity of Teachers: Supply of New Teachers as a Percentage of the Demand for Additional Teachers, 1973-1987



... And Their Quality: Qualifications of New Teachers for the Field They Are Currently Teaching, 1981

Source: The Rand Corporation
Certified or eligible for certification in field currently teaching
Not certified or eligible for certification in field currently teaching

Making the Grade: High School Graduation Rate by State, 1982 and 1984

State	1982 Number	1982 Rank	1984 Number	1984 Rank
Alabama	62.1	49	63.4	44
Alaska	74.7	25	64.3	41
Arizona	64.6	41	63.4	43
Arkansas	75.2	22	73.4	24
California	63.2	44	60.1	50
Colorado	75.4	21	70.9	31
Connecticut	79.1	11	70.6	33
Delaware	71.1	34	74.7	20
District of Columbia	55.2	51	56.9	51
Florida	62.2	47	60.2	49
Georgia	63.1	45	65.0	39
Hawaii	73.2	30	74.9	18
Idaho	75.8	20	74.4	21
Illinois	74.5	27	76.1	15
Indiana	77.0	17	71.7	29
Iowa	86.0	4	84.1	2
Kansas	81.7	9	80.7	7
Kentucky	68.4	39	65.9	38
Louisiana	56.7	50	61.5	47
Maine	77.2	15	72.1	28
Maryland	77.8	13	74.8	19
Massachusetts	74.3	28	76.4	13
Michigan	72.2	33	71.6	30
Minnesota	89.3	1	88.2	1
Mississippi	62.4	46	61.3	48
Missouri	76.2	18	74.2	22
Montana	82.1	8	78.7	9
Nebraska	86.3	2	81.9	6
Nevada	66.5	40	64.8	40
New Hampshire	75.2	22	77.0	11
New Jersey	77.7	14	76.5	12
New Mexico	71.0	35	69.4	34
New York	62.2	47	63.4	45
North Carolina	69.3	37	67.1	36
North Dakota	86.3	2	83.9	3
Ohio	80.0	10	77.5	10
Oklahoma	73.1	31	70.8	32
Oregon	73.9	29	72.4	26
Pennsylvania	77.2	15	76.0	16
Rhode Island	68.7	38	72.7	25
South Carolina	64.5	43	62.6	46
South Dakota	85.5	5	82.7	5
Tennessee	70.5	36	67.8	35
Texas	64.6	41	63.6	42
Utah	78.7	12	75.0	17
Vermont	83.1	7	79.8	8
Virginia	74.7	25	73.8	23
Washington	75.1	24	76.1	14
West Virginia	73.1	31	66.3	37
Wisconsin	84.5	6	83.1	4
Wyoming	76.0	19	72.4	27
U.S. Average	76.9	—	86.7	—

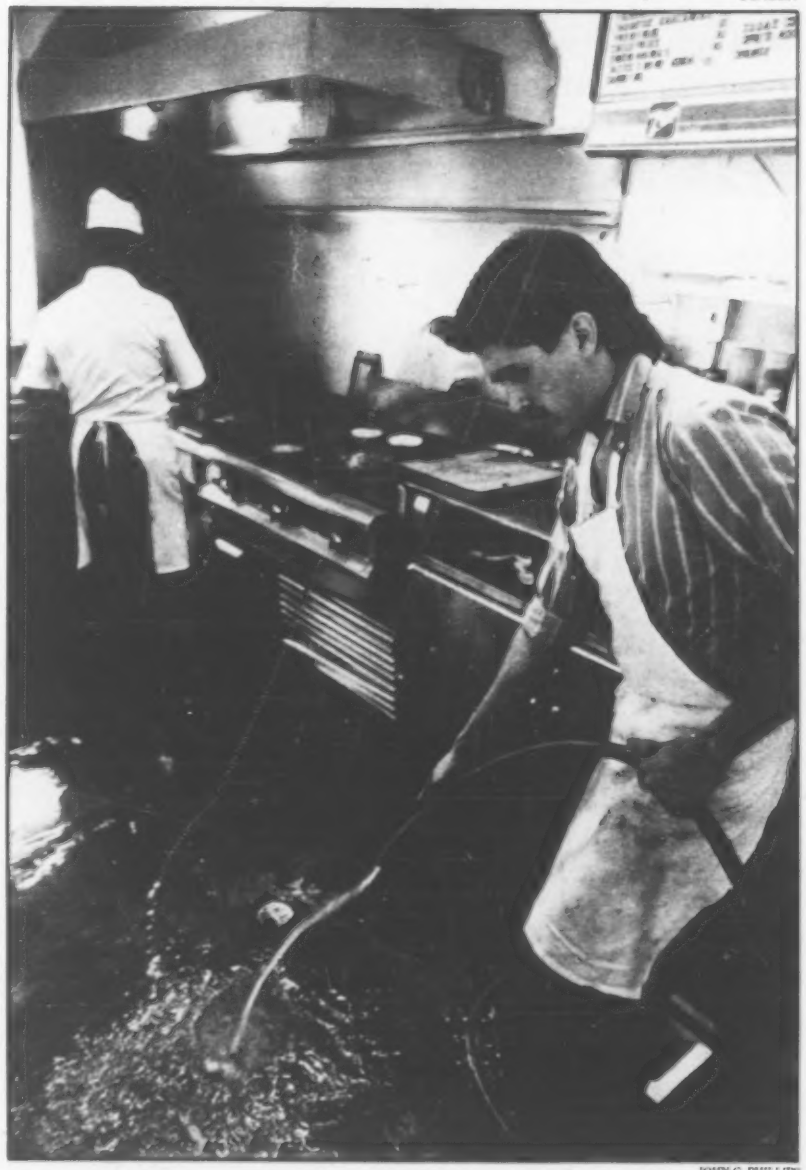
Source: U.S. Education Department; Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation; Planning and Evaluation, February 1986.

DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

LABOR FORCE

Help Wanted: Competition For the Young

U.S. ARMY



JOHN C. PHILLIPS

Not long ago, because of the Baby Boom, businesses and educational institutions that depend upon a steady supply of young people could afford to adopt a "throw-away" attitude about potential employees and students. Those days are coming to an end.

The population of 18-to-24-year-olds reached an all-time high of 30.4 million in 1980. That group has shrunk by 5 percent since then and now stands at 28.5 million, representing 16.2 percent of the total population. During the next 15 years, that young-adult group is expected to decline by more than 7 million. Because of the current baby boomlet, it will rebound slightly shortly after the turn of the century and then will begin falling once again.

The coming changes have not been lost on America's business leaders. "Over the next 10 to 15 years, the workforce will undergo a major change in composition," notes the National Alliance of Businesses in a recent report on employment policies of the future. "Most striking will be the growth of less well-educated segments of the population that have typically been the least prepared for work. The number of minority youth will increase, while the total number of youth of working age will decline. The number of high-school dropouts will rise as will the number of teen-age mothers. At the same time, entry-level jobs will increasingly require basic, analytical, and interpersonal skills."

"Will our youth be able to meet these requirements or will they become a part of a growing underclass with no hope for employment?" the report asks in what is more than a rhetorical question.

What sorts of jobs await America's youth? During the late 1970's and early 1980's, 20 million new jobs were created by the nation's businesses; only 5 percent were in manufacturing, while 90 percent were in the service and information industries.

Much has been written about the impending employment boom in high-technology industries. However, those businesses now provide only 6.2 percent of all jobs in the United States and are expected to provide only 6.6 percent of all jobs by 1995. Moreover, fewer than 4 percent of all workers employed by such businesses are actually involved in "high-tech" work; the vast majority are assemblers, clerks, janitors, and other laborers.

Most of the new jobs that will be created in coming years will be in low-paying categories. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1 out of 5 people who graduated from college in June 1985 will work in a job that requires no college training at all. By 1990, 75 percent of all new jobs will require only minimal education or technical training beyond the high-school level.

The result, some observers predict, will be the creation of a bi-polar labor force. Few people will hold high-paying jobs requiring high levels of skill; the vast majority of workers will be locked into low-paying, low-skill positions. The American middle class, they say, is disappearing.

But not all experts agree on that scenario. Some contend that technological advances are creating a need for higher skill levels in the workforce and that adult work-related education is of paramount importance. Moreover, they argue, the better educated the workforce, the more sophisticated the economy is likely to become and the more likely that higher-level jobs will be created.

A large segment of the minority youth population has looked to the military as a means of escaping poverty since the integration of the armed services in the 1950's. And as the young-adult population declines, the military will find itself in competition with business and higher education for the young men and women it will need to replenish the ranks of its All-Volunteer Force.

The military, like other social institutions, will draw its recruits from a pool of young adults that will include many in the at-risk population. But technological advances in weaponry and support services may close the door to a career in the military for such disadvantaged candidates.

The Army, whose manpower needs are the greatest among the armed services, inducted 125,500 recruits in fiscal 1985, or about 1 in 12 of the eligible population in the 17-to-19 age group. Overall, the armed services will require about 315,000 recruits annually through 1991 to maintain the current status of the All-Volunteer Force, or about 1 of every 4 17-to-19-year-olds.

Today, all military recruits must have a high-school diploma or must score above 50 percent on the Armed Forces Qualification Test. With the high-school completion rate for minority 18- and 19-year-olds hovering around 55 percent, it is clear that a career in the military is no longer an option for a significant percentage of these young adults. It is equally clear, some say, that a draft will eventually be necessary to maintain the armed forces at a level adequate for national security. ✦

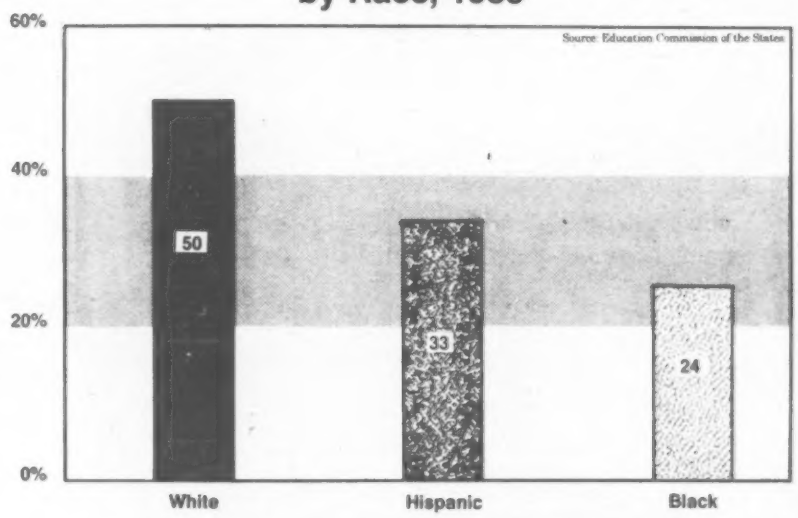
When people reach retirement age in the future, there better be enough well-educated people out there working to pay for Social Security.

—Raul Yzaguirre

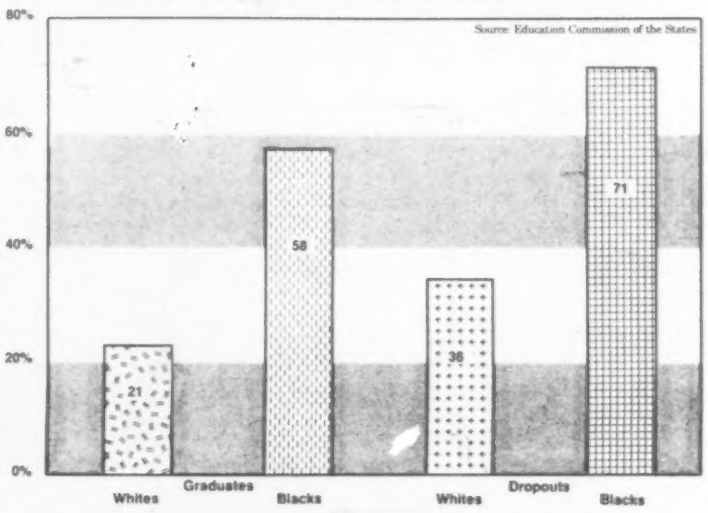
MARTIN A. LEVICK/BLACK STAR

Business, the military, and academe will be competing for a declining number of young people—many of them "at-risk" youth. To maintain present levels of manpower, for example, by 1995 the military will need to attract 55 percent of all eligible 18-year-olds.

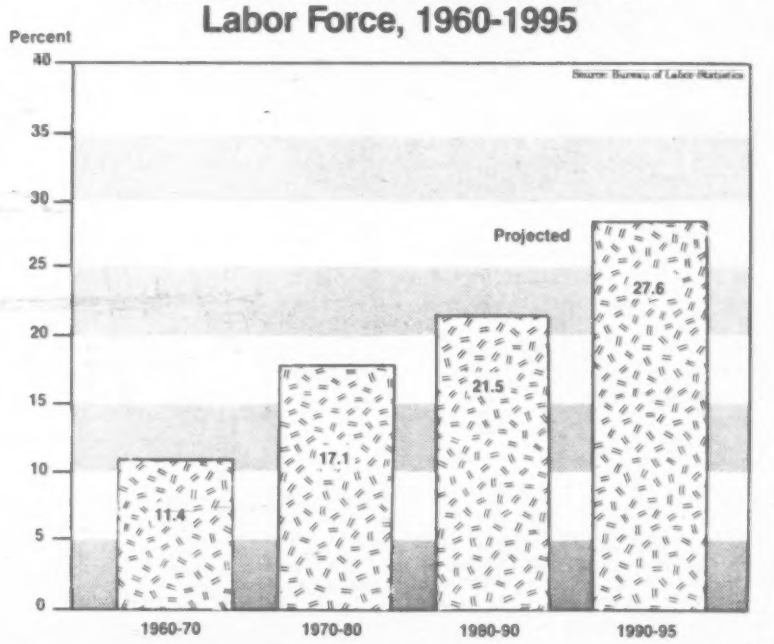
Looking for Work: Teen-age Employment by Race, 1985



Out of School, Out of Work: Unemployment Rates Among High-School Graduates and Dropouts, by Race, 1982



Black Workers: Percent Share of Labor Force, 1960-1995



Where the Jobs Will Be:

Largest Number of New Jobs

Occupation	Growth in employment in thousands, 1978-90
Janitors and Sextons	671.2
Nurses' aides and orderlies	594.0
Sales clerks	590.7
Cashiers	545.5
Waiters/waitresses	531.9
General clerks, office	529.8
Professional nurses	515.8
Food preparation & service workers, fast food restaurants	491.9
Secretaries	487.8
Truck drivers	437.6

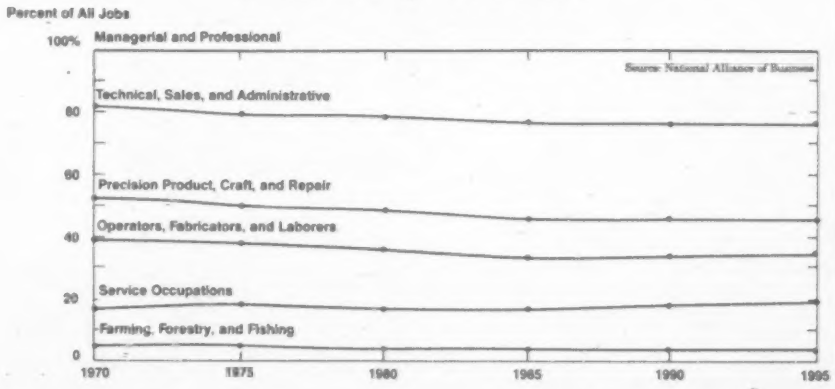
Source: Monthly Labor Review

Most Rapidly Growing Occupations

Occupation	Percent growth in employment, 1978-90	Number of new jobs by 1990
All occupations	22.5	21,960,000
Data-processing machine mechanics	147.6	96,572
Paralegal personnel	132.4	39,310
Computer-systems analysts	107.8	203,357
Computer operators	87.9	151,100
Office-machine and cash-register servicers	80.8	40,668
Computer programmers	73.6	153,051
Aero-astronautic engineers	70.4	41,315
Food preparation & service workers, fast food restaurants	68.8	491,900
Employment interviewers	66.6	35,179
Tax preparers	64.5	19,997

Source: Monthly Labor Review

The Changing Economy: Occupations as a Percent of All Jobs, 1970-1995



ROUNDTABLE

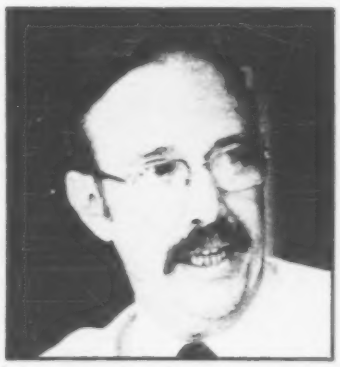
ISSUES

Diversity, Class: 'Different Issues'

The Panelists

Chester E. Finn Jr. *is assistant secretary for educational research and improvement and counselor to the secretary of education in the U.S. Education Department.*

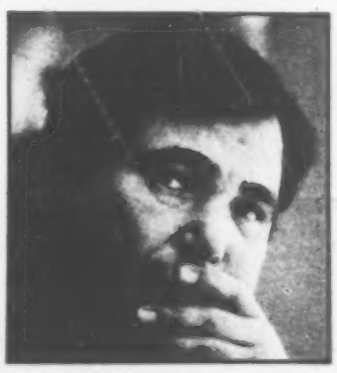
Harold L. Hodgkinson, *former director of the National Institute of Education, is scholar in residence at the American Council on Education in Washington.*



David L. Hornbeck *is Maryland's superintendent of schools and president-elect of the Council of Chief State School Officers.*

Lee R. McMurrin *is superintendent of the Milwaukee Public Schools.*

Donald Smith, *immediate past president of the National Alliance of Black School Educators, is professor of education at Baruch College of the City University of New York.*



Raul Yzaguirre *is president of the National Council of La Raza, a Hispanic civil-rights organization.*

PHOTOS BY DOUGLAS GORALSKI

Education Week: Social and demographic forces are reshaping our society in profound ways—the dissolution of the traditional family, the massive influx of immigrants, the increasing number of at-risk children, the growth of the elderly population and the shrinking of the younger population. How serious is this situation for the nation and its schools? What are its dimensions?

Harold L. Hodgkinson: One dimension is what is happening to the family in the United States. Only 4 percent of the households are traditional families—mother, father, two school-age children. Twenty-two million people live alone. There has been a steady decline in the percentage of family households with children in public schools. In Livonia, Michigan, for example, 1 household in 18 has a child in public school.

Many people are not aware of the population changes within their state. I was in Indiana yesterday speaking to a state-sponsored conference of 1,400 people. Indiana is experiencing a fairly significant increase in the minority population and an increase in poverty in most of its urban areas. Yet there must have been 50 people who came up afterwards and said, "Why hasn't anybody told us about this?"

The thing about demographics is that you can follow these cohorts through and it doesn't take you 14 years to make conclusions about your entering freshman class at Purdue. They were born 18 years earlier.

David Hornbeck: In Baltimore City, 9 out of 10 teen-age births are to young women who are unmarried, and we have a high school in Montgomery County with 79 countries represented and 39 languages. We look at issues of increasing poverty on a daily basis.

Though we have a relatively decent equalization formula in Maryland, there remains a $1,900 per-pupil expenditure gap between the highest-spending system and the lowest-spending. That means a difference of $60,000 between one classroom of 30 kids and another classroom of 30 kids.

Mr. Hodgkinson: In Los Angeles last week, I saw an elementary-school teacher who was teaching a class of 31 children in the 3rd grade, and the 31 children spoke six languages, none of which was English. The teacher has one year of Spanish in her collegiate training.

I mentioned Indiana, where the diversity is low. But the tolerance for diversity in that state is also low. If the student body in Indiana goes from 10 percent minority to 15 percent, that is an issue. Just as it is an issue in elementary schools in California where more than half the students are not white.

How tolerant will we be of the new racial and ethnic diversity that is coming into the system? Each part of the country will have to deal with that question.

Chester E. Finn Jr.: There is a huge distinction between the diversity issue and what I would call the underclass issue. They are really very, very different, and they keep getting commingled in data and in various reports that have attempted to look at the changing population of American schools.

Diversity means that we have more nationalities, languages, cultures than we used to and in larger numbers. This is a trend. It is not necessarily a problem. It has one set of implications, and they are not brand new implications for a country that has always been a melting pot country. The problems may be larger in scale than they have been in the past, but they are not fundamentally different than those we have dealt with in the past.

That is one set of things. The other involves very worrisome data about social decay in the form of poverty, illiteracy, illegitimacy, other things that are signs of social pathology, underclass issues. That carries with it a whole set of problems and implications, but they would be problems even if there were no diversity.

Donald Smith: We have never had a national policy that welcomes diversity when that diversity includes peoples of all cultures.

The diversity that has been welcomed here typically has been the European diversity. It has not been African and Latin American diversity. As we address the question of diversity, we have to bear in mind that some groups are favored and some are not. We have to come to some national consensus about diversity and about language.

Raul Yzaguirre: We ought to put the so-called immigration problem in perspective. As a percentage of total population, the proportion of immigrants was much greater at the turn of the century. It is not as though we're inundated by immigrants. The problem is that the immigrants are much more diverse and that does present some challenges for us. Immigration is not a huge numerical problem, nor is it a new problem for this society.

Mr. Hodgkinson: It is new in the sense that the concentrations of these populations are not distributed evenly across the country and it does have a heavier impact certain places than others. I would take exception to Checker Finn's clear, somewhat rigid dichotomy between diversity and underclass. Certain groups clearly are more likely to be in the underclass than others. There is a strong relationship between race and poverty.

Lee McMurrin: We had a legislative group visit a Milwaukee school recently, and the pupils displayed a big sign that said welcome in 27 different languages because those languages were represented at that one school. Some would see that as negative. I see it as positive because that kind of diversity should enrich the education of the children.

Our problem is that we have a concentration of population that has been traditionally disadvantaged in America. And what has been true historically for them will continue to hold true as they move in larger numbers to our cities—unless we do something about it. Direct action will have to be taken or these disadvantaged will not naturally move through the system. They will not naturally move into universities. They will not naturally move into jobs that they should have because roadblocks have been set up that close access to the opportunities and institutions that are open to other groups.

E.W.: What kinds of roadblocks?

Mr. McMurrin: Poverty is probably the greatest roadblock these children experience in our city. Just 10 years ago, when I

came to Milwaukee, 28 percent of the children lived in poverty; now it is probably 65 percent. And the poverty is more severe. It affects the families to a greater extent."

Mr. Finn: Can we resist the easy assumption that this kind of poverty, which is a real problem, is either an urban or a minority problem? Has anybody been to New Hampshire lately or to eastern Tennessee and looked at impoverished, white, drifting families living in trailer camps, kids going a few weeks to school here and a month there and living somewhere else with some other relative, some other member of the family?

This is not exclusively an urban phenomenon. It is not a minority phenomenon. It is a class and economic phenomenon, and it is a real one. If it is a barrier, it is a barrier for people of all kinds who experience it.

Mr. Hornbeck: Is it not the case that if you are black you are more likely to be poor and unemployed than if you are white? Isn't that a fact?

Mr. Hodgkinson: There's no question.

Mr. Hornbeck: Is it not natural, then, to conclude that while we clearly have a problem that relates to the poor whites, there is an exacerbated problem as it relates to poor blacks?

Mr. Smith: When I was director of the Center for Innercity Studies in Chicago, we used to work with a diverse population—black people on the south and west sides, Hispanics living on the south side, a few on the north side, Native Americans, people from the southern mountains. A critical distinction I observed at that time was that most poor whites felt they were poor because they were down on their luck or didn't meet job requirements, didn't have the skills. But most minorities felt very clearly that even luck and job skills were not the entire quotient, that their skin color was a major factor holding them back.

When we talk about the poor, we have to remember that the nonwhites are stigmatized groups and their feelings about themselves clearly relate to their aspirations and their degree of belief that they have some control over their own destiny and that there is some degree of fairness in the land.

Mr. McMurrin: In many states, the majority population or the influential population will not give attention either to minority children in urban centers or to the poor who live in rural areas.

E.W.: If there is an underclass, does it really make a difference whether it is black, Hispanic, or white? Are there any statistics that suggest there is an increase or decrease in the proportion of white poor as opposed to the proportion of poor minorities?

Mr. Hodgkinson: It is clear in the heartland states that there is an increase in poverty among rural whites as a percentage of whites overall in the population. But even with the increase, it is nothing compared to the percentage of poverty among other groups, rural or urban.

Mr. Yzaguirre: Obviously, there is an underclass, and obviously a majority of the underclass are white—two-thirds are white. But that is not the real issue. The question is: To what extent is poverty an intractable, almost unsolvable kind of problem for different populations? When you talk about the real underclass, when you talk about people who are third-generation poor, then you are talking about blacks, Hispanics, and Appalachian whites and Native Americans. With those populations, poverty seems to be permanent.

Mr. Smith: The problem is one that requires a comprehensive approach. It is the problem of employment, health, housing, education. The school can do only so much. I'm not sure that the schools now do as much as they can, but we have to recognize their limitations. Who bears the responsibility for bringing the other segments together to address what is becoming a national crisis? Who bears that responsibility? ✦

ROLAND L. FREEMAN/MAGNUM

BARBARA HADLEY

MARTIN A. LEVICK/BLACK STAR

BRIAN MARCK

DIANE RIKER CRITTENDEN/BLACK STAR

ROUNDTABLE

IMPLICATIONS

'The Dropouts Go on Everyone Else's Rolls'

E.W.: What are the implications of these "intractable" social problems and powerful demographic forces for society and for the schools?

Mr. McMurrin: They present us with a very tough task, I can tell you that. For instance, Head Start has only served a small proportion of those who were eligible and those who need it. Head Start ought to be part of schooling and it ought to be identified with schooling and look like the first step of schooling.

Mr. Smith: We talk about at-risk children and their increasing numbers. We need also to look at the risks that those at-risk children pose for the larger society if something does not happen to improve their circumstances and their condition.

Those of us who live in cities are acutely aware of what will happen when large numbers of young people are out on the streets and become victimized by drugs, victimized by a lack of job opportunities.

They will survive as they have to survive, and the entire infrastructure will be at risk. Everybody is going to be at risk. How to deal with that is a major question. It is not just a question of what is humane to do for the at-risk children; it is a question of what must we do for our own personal survival.

Mr. Yzaguirre: We've got to find a way to make it clear to the public that it is in their best interest to support education and to address these problems. It is not a matter of altruism. When people reach retirement age in the future, there better be enough well-educated people out there working to pay for Social Security.

Mr. Hodgkinson: In about eight states, a war between the generations is likely just because of the rapid increase in the number of people over 65, which is the most rapidly growing segment of the population. There have to be a certain number of workers who generate the retirement dollars. When my father retired, about 17 workers paid the Social Security taxes for his benefits. It's 3.4 now and it's going down. In 30 years or so, when the Baby Boomers begin retiring, you'll see an incredible dependency of that group, which is very, very white. Somebody is going to have to cover those costs.

E.W.: Is the "somebody" you refer to the generation that includes a growing at-risk population?

Mr. Hodgkinson: Yes, and it will be much smaller in size than the generation it will be supporting. The assumption in the public press has been that minority fertility rates are going up, and they are not. The critical factor is the decline in white fertility from an average of 2.8 or so births per woman during the Baby Boom to 1.7 today. Indeed, this is also a problem in Western Europe. England, France, West Germany, and Italy have had major national conferences on this topic. Their populations are unable to sustain their present size. The white population is about 18 percent of the world's population now and going down.

Mr. McMurrin: The students the schools lose—dropouts is one definition—go on everyone else's rolls. They get on the municipal court's rolls because they're involved in crimes; they go on the juvenile court's rolls; they go on the social-service rolls. They become a lot more expensive to society than the cost of educating them. But that is a very, very difficult concept to get across to society at large.

E.W.: Has the dropout problem become worse?

Mr. Smith: Yes.

Mr. McMurrin: Yes, in cities.

Mr. Finn: It hasn't for decades. The high-school-completion rate has been hovering at the mid-70 percent level. It hasn't changed much in a long time. Why will it become worse?

Mr. Yzaguirre: It's a differential problem. It has gotten to be much more of a serious problem for Hispanics. There have probably been improvements in the white situation, but there is more of a problem for blacks and Hispanics.

Mr. Hodgkinson: It is clearly differential. In Minnesota, about 85 percent of the youhg people graduate from high school on time. In Mississippi, it's about 62 percent.

It is true that in 1900 about 10 percent of young people graduated from high school. So we've made great progress. But retention appears to be dropping.

And attendance is falling sharply because truant officers no longer have any authority. In California, a study completed last month indicates that when you do make kids go to school, daytime burglaries drop—30 percent in the city of Stockton, for example. The kids who aren't going to school are going to get into some kind of trouble.

Mr. Smith: The situation is going to get worse. And here's why. For African Americans, dropout rates in some of our major cities—like New York and Chicago—already are at an epidemic level. In fact, it was recently discovered that the dropout rate in New York City, which had been estimated at more than 70 percent for both African Americans and Hispanic Americans, was based upon those who left school after the 9th grade. The percentage did not include those who dropped out before that, in junior high school. That makes it worse. And the circumstances that cause dropouts continue to get worse.

We have allowed the African American family to disintegrate. Thirteen-year-olds are having children they are in no position to nurture and no position to give values to.

The unemployment rate among that group is appalling. Those young women who are giving birth to children cannot be employed. Very often, the father is nowhere to be found, so they are living in poverty.

The poverty rate is increasing. The dropout rate is increasing. Teen-age pregnancies are increasing. Incarceration rates are increasing. We already have a crisis and it is going to get even worse if there are not major interventions.

I attended the National Forum on Excellence in Education in Indianapolis in December of 1983 to follow up on the "Nation at Risk" report. Neither that report nor its major follow-up conference concerned itself with dropouts, with the education of minorities.

There is no national leadership and very little local leadership on the crises that I am talking about. In New York State, the Regents' plan didn't even mention the word "dropouts"—as if the problem doesn't exist. But New York State has the 5th-highest dropout rate in the nation, and New York City is the worst.

We are going to have to face the issue very soon or it is going to consume us.

E.W.: If the reform movement is exacerbating these problems, are its higher standards going to do more harm than good in the long run?

Mr. Hornbeck: The success of the school-reform movement in this regard is going to depend on what sort of support mechanisms are adopted to help kids meet the higher standards.

Mr. Finn: If we are going to have meaningful standards that kids are going to be held to—and that is certainly the central concept of the reform movement—we have got to make those standards plain the first day of 1st grade. We've got to make this clear from the instant the kid encounters education—what he is going to have to do by tomorrow, what he's going to have to do by next week, what he's going to have to do by next year. Then we've got to apply these things fairly, firmly, and with support all the way along.

Mr. McMurrin: Standards aren't bad in themselves. People are beginning now to think maybe the standards are too high and there's something wrong with the standards. But there is something about standards that creates higher expectations, which we need for our students and the teachers.

Mr. Smith: There's no question about the need for high standards, but there are some very important considerations in attempting to achieve them.

The school system, the state legislature, the federal government must be willing to provide the kinds of resources that are necessary to help children who have been neglected for many years to reach those standards.

If there are high levels of expectation for children, then teachers ought to have equally high levels of expectations that those children can be taught and they can learn.

If these things are present, at-risk children can achieve higher standards.

Mr. Yzaguirre: It is great to raise the hurdle, but you've got to provide better coaching as well. Because if all you're doing is raising hurdles, then fewer people will be able to go over them. That really doesn't accomplish anything. ✦

FRED ZIMMERMAN

ROUNDTABLE

OUTLOOK

'The Gap Will Not Close on its Own'

E.W.: Are the schools in a position to do more, or better, with the at-risk population as things stand now?

Mr. McMurrin: There are some windows of opportunity now with these children. For instance, we have all the knowledge we need about how early intervention for 3-, 4-, 5-year-olds, for example, can influence a child's future. We don't need any more research. What we need is action.

Mr. Hornbeck: The single most important initiative that we can take would be to provide the opportunity for more kids to become involved in early-education programs. Now the opportunity is generally only available to the affluent, not the poor.

Mr. McMurrin: They can't get early education because of the economic constraints—the schools don't have the money. And there's not enough public support for early-childhood education.

Mr. Finn: I'm going to have to demur again. Since the 1950's, per-pupil spending in constant dollars in public schools in this country has tripled. There is quite a lot more money being spent on public education today than there has ever been before per teacher, per pupil, per everything.

Mr. McMurrin: But look at the burdens we're carrying. We have youngsters who are handicapped and it can cost $20,000 a year just to get them to school because they are brought in an ambulance. We have youngsters who used to be institutionalized.

Mr. Finn: These represent conscious choices to do more for some children.

Mr. McMurrin: Schools have been given these additional tasks. Some of the tasks we did not have before. Someone else did them, and the dollars were appropriated someplace else. Or they weren't done at all.

Mr. Finn: Perhaps the public support has shifted its focus to handicapped and non-English-speaking. But that is not evidence of diminishing public support. It is evidence of a shifting allocation.

Mr. Hornbeck: Isn't the issue not whether funding has gone up or down, but whether we have enough to do the job?

In Baltimore City, we don't have enough money for preschool programs. I don't know whether we have less than we did in 1940 or more, and I don't care. The fact is, in 1986 we can't have a preschool program.

Mr. Finn: What are you doing with your money? Baltimore must be spending close to $5,000 per pupil.

Mr. Hornbeck: No, it's about $2,800.

Mr. Finn: Most other big cities are spending more than the national average, which is close to $4,000.

Mr. McMurrin: But you need to compare the cities with the surrounding suburbs. I bet you'll find Baltimore's spending is about half that of some of the suburbs.

Mr. Finn: But the State of Maryland has chosen to organize its school financing in a way that causes those suburbs to be spending more than Baltimore City.

Mr. McMurrin: Financial reform favored the suburbs and hurt the cities, and it is called an equalization program.

Mr. Finn: But this year almost $4,000 was spent for each public-school student, on the basis of average daily attendance nationwide. Using the formula of 30 kids per classroom, that works out to an average investment of $120,000 per classroom across this country in public education. It is not equal. I've been in public systems where it's $7,000 per pupil. It is not uniform, but it is a very, very large amount of money, and it is legitimate to ask what it is buying.

Mr. Yzaguirre: Yes, we ought to be asking the question of what our money is buying. And we should ask how we can improve what we are doing with the existing resources. But the fact remains that even if per-pupil expenditures are increasing, they are not increasing enough. National defense costs more today than it did a long time ago, and many important people say we don't spend enough on that.

The question is, how much do we need to spend, and are we spending that much?

Mr. Hodgkinson: It's a means-versus-range issue. Checker Finn quotes means, and I tend to quote ranges. Whatever the national averages, teachers in Mississippi are not making any more money than they were five years ago. You can find 150 good urban minority high schools that are performing at an incredibly high rate; you can also find 150 big urban high schools that are doing absolutely abominably.

But I have to say also that I see some really quite exciting things happening. And a lot of them were in place long before "A Nation at Risk." Such things as Wisconsin's grandparents-responsibility law. If your 17-year-old son gets a 17-year-old girl pregnant, you as new grandparent don't get congratulated, you become responsible for the financial well-being of that child.

There is an elementary school in Cleveland, Ohio, which is 90 percent black and boasts achievement scores above the national average on every kind of test. The average parental income is about $10,000, but the kids are doing extremely well.

The school follows a very simple formula: A principal who really encourages leadership in the classroom and parents who are involved—and 10 percent of their parents are from conventional families. The officials at that school realize that it's easier and cheaper to keep pupils at grade level from the first day of school than it is to try to get them back up to grade level several years later.

Mr. Finn: When we talk about ranges rather than means, though, we are left with that statistical paradox that we are apt to continue having half below the average no matter what we do over time. One of the more interesting developments of the reform movement over the last few years is occurring in places—particularly states like Mississippi that found themselves on a below-average side of the range—that are working like the dickens to get themselves up to the average. Some of the historically most advanced states, on the other hand, may have something to worry about if they don't get off their tails.

The outlook can shift from a kind of pervasive gloom to a reasonable degree of optimism when you shift from the question of "how are we going to solve the problem of underclass children?" to the question of "what are the characteristics of a very good school that does what is within its power to do for all the children attending it?"

That may not solve your underclass problem, but it is possible to model the kinds of changes Bud Hodgkinson talks about.

Mr. McMurrin: Milwaukee has just released a report of a 10-year study of school achievement throughout the grades in reading and mathematics. That report shows that the white and black scores are both improving and the black population is going up faster, though there is still a gap. And that is true in other parts of the country. If you just drew those trend lines out, they would converge in about 8 to 10 years.

In order to achieve that, however, we will have to have additional resources. The gap will not close on its own. This kind of progress didn't just happen. We had school-effectiveness programs in Milwaukee. We listed our 120 elementary schools from high to low, and we picked the 20 schools that had the lowest test scores over a period of three years, and we said, "You will join Project Rise, our effective-schools project." They have been rising to individual scholastic excellence ever since then.

Progress can be made, but it takes intervention.

Mr. Finn: We should not overlook minority progress and the evidence of growing middle-class success stories.

E.W.: What is the formula for that success?

Mr. Hodgkinson: Public concern, getting people to do what is right.

Mr. Hornbeck: One of the most intriguing pieces of the effective-schools research demonstrated that in any school that really made progress, you really had to take seriously the achievement of kids, and that is correlated highly with expectation. In my state, Montgomery County made a decision two years ago that one of their five top priorities was to deal with the issue of minority achievement. They have concentrated their resources on that, and they are now seeing impressive results.

The issue is not whether kids are improving on the average. The average by definition means there are a whole bunch of kids above and a whole bunch of kids below. The issue is whether every single kid is receiving the kind of care and concern and attention and high expectations and high standards with the support that is necessary for that kid to achieve.

If the commitment and the resources are there, you're going to see more blacks and whites moving into the middle class.

Mr. Finn: No, sir, you're not going to see the emergence of the middle class. You're going to see the limits of public policy at causing the emergence into the middle class. You're going to see better schools for these kids, and you will see improvement in scores, but the formula, if there is one, has got to include motivation and energy.

Public policy can eliminate barriers and provide resources, yes, but it cannot supplant the need for people to make something of themselves and organize themselves and their family and their children in such a way that their children end up better off than the parents.

That upward mobility is maintained in very substantial part by private action—family, community, church-group, and neighborhood action.

E.W.: But how do you instill motivation and pass on values when the family is deteriorating as a social institution?

Mr. Finn: You start by recognizing that this is an extremely serious and intractable problem. It is a problem far, far larger and more pervasive than the education system, and further, alas, it isn't going to be solved within the education system. We should not get ourselves into another round of overpromising that the education system is going to solve problems that it is incompetent and powerless to solve. The kinds of social pathologies that are described in certain typical underclass literature are not within the power of schools, even good schools, to solve.

We're talking here about something that has been with us for a very long time. It's getting worse, affects many aspects of society, and has not proven susceptible to conventional public-policy solutions in the welfare, health, and education domains.

Indeed, there is one line of thought that says that these problems have been exacerbated by public-policy interventions, and that dependency has been created thereby.

Mr. Hodgkinson: That tells us what won't work. I've heard a great deal about why social programs don't work, despite the data that they do—Head Start, for example. What is this Administration proposing that will work?

Mr. Hornbeck: I couldn't agree more that the problem of values is getting worse, and schools aren't going to solve it alone. But that doesn't fully address the issue.

The question in part is: Should the schools be any part of the solution? Should we continue the role of moral eunuch? Should we continue to act as if the value question is not part of the solution to those problems, when we have a group of youngsters who are in our institutions, for better or for worse, six hours a day for 12 years?

If the answer is no, schools have no responsibility and all of that belongs to the private sector—the church, the family, business—then it is easy for us.

If the answer is yes, you bear part of the responsibility, then the question is: What part and what initiatives and what programs do we need to meet that responsibility?

At the moment, schools don't see instilling values as part of their agenda. Since the 1960's, they really have set that responsibility aside. They have approached issues of values in a relatively sick way. They say everybody's values are as good as everybody else's, and that is plain wrong. We are contributing to the problem rather than the solution by adopting that perspective.

Mr. McMurrin: Certainly the educational system is important to these poor children as they come through the schools and take their place in society. But we also need to assist their parents with jobs and with socioeconomic amenities that have to do more closely with the middle class.

I have sat in discussions of whether we have a choice to be segregated. We don't have a choice. When school enrollments in some states are 50 percent minority, they don't have a choice. When cities are 50 percent or more minority and metropolitan areas are 30 or 40 percent minority, they don't have a choice. People can fight it, they can delay it, and they can make it miserable for the minority children and their parents. But they can't stop it. It will just prolong the misery. We've got to come to our senses as a society and mainstream all of the minorities and give them equal access to all of the opportunities. Otherwise, we're facing problems in schools that we can't overcome.

Mr. Yzaguirre: For middle-class kids, it really doesn't make all that much difference what kind of school environment they have. They can go to bad schools but have enough protective and supporting things happening around them so that they will do okay. But for disadvantaged kids, the difference between a good school and a bad school makes all the difference in the world. So public policy and institutions have a differential impact on different populations. ✦

ROUNDTABLE
PRESCRIPTIONS

'Who Bears the Responsibility?'

E.W.: We have been talking about the markedly changing characteristics of American society and the implications of those changes for schools. Let's turn now to questions of long-term policy. Lee McMurrin has used the word "intervention." Are policy interventions called for in view of the emerging demographic realities? Who should do what and for what reasons?

Mr. Smith: The National Alliance of Black School Educators produced a report entitled "Saving the African-American Child." It was our own recognition that if there had never been "A Nation at Risk," our children were still at very great risk.

The report called for academic and cultural excellence, because one of the major causes of poor achievement of our children is a belief by teachers, communities, parents, and the children themselves that they are unworthy, that they don't have the capacity for high levels of achievement. And when this belief is pervasive among those who teach, those who administer, the parents, and the children, then it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

People speak of blacks and Hispanics as "racially isolated." By definition, if you say that they are racially isolated, you are implying that unless they are racially mixed, there isn't much hope for them.

Mr. Yzaguirre: You don't say that an all-white school is racially isolated.

Mr. Smith: Exactly. And therefore that there is little hope for the students in it. There is no question that the curriculum of the schools in the United States is a curriculum that places Europeans at an advantage and places other groups, particularly those who are at great risk—blacks and Latinos and Native Americans—at a disadvantage. The truth of their existence, their contributions historically, their contributions to this country today, simply are not present in the curriculum.

So when a child sees the reality of the outside—the slums, the nonworking parents, the drug addiction—and then goes into the school and sees no evidence there of any worthiness of his or her group, then it is not surprising that there is considerable disbelief by the child in himself and in his group.

But scholarship began in Africa. The first universities were in Africa. The academic disciplines began in Africa when scholars from Asia and Europe went to the universities in Sankore and Timbuktu and other places to learn. This simply is not known. Not only is it not known by black children, it is not known by white children either.

The revelation of what is true can make a difference in how all groups feel about themselves. Not only is it correcting the distortions of reality for minority children, but it also corrects the distortions for majority children, too, and this is terribly important.

When one-third of the American population are minorities, we have to think about the education of all our people in new ways.

Think of it in terms of polycultural democracy, which would posit that a child has the right to be educated in his or her own culture and still learn about the majority culture and still be respected. White children have that right. White children also have the right to know about Native Americans, about Latinos, about African Americans, because the world is increasingly narrowing and their being able to function in that world is going to be dependent upon their ability to communicate, to know about and to deal with other cultures.

Mr. McMurrin: The group within which the children identify is important, but I think the biggest problem we have at this point is the acceptance within the larger society.

Only by mainstreaming individuals within society in their education, housing, and employment, and by giving them equal access, equal opportunity can we solve these problems.

Mr. Hornbeck: I would like to frame the question in terms of who might do what. Who has the responsibility for what in response to these issues?

The local, state, and federal levels have various responsibilities, and in the final analysis it is obvious that what goes on in the classroom and at the school level is going to be the key factor.

The question is how and where we get the leadership that will influence the greatest number of classrooms and schools across this country. For better or worse, that leadership is going to come at the state level.

If we are going to have equalization in resources, it is going to happen in the state context, although there needs to be a greater contribution to that at the federal level than there is right now.

If we are going to have substance as well as form in graduation requirements, and if we're going to have renewed curricular initiatives, that is largely going to happen at the state level.

Given the average size of local school systems and the character of central-office staffs, the resources aren't going to be there to do it.

It is going to be vital for states to support equity and access, principally under legal mandates at the federal level. Civil-rights initiatives related to blacks, to women, and to the handicapped have come largely from the federal government, but states must actively support them.

The state has a critical role to play addressing the teacher issues—from certification to raising salaries. The action is going to be at the state level and so states need to be prepared to assume that responsibility.

The federal government must play a vital role in assuring access and equity. I would recommend a counterpart of Public Law 94-142 designed for other than handicapped youngsters who are at risk.

The only place where real revolution has taken place in education in the last few decades is with the handicapped. And the success in no small measure is because of the mandated individual education plans. There ought to be a mandated I.E.P. for every at-risk kid.

The other crucial federal role is in research and statistics-gathering.

Mr. McMurrin: One more dimension to the levels of responsibility: the city within the metropolitan area or within the region. It is difficult for some states to address the problems of urban centers all by themselves. Historically, when the core city became more metropolitan in the way it looked at itself, it became great. And when it lost that perspective, it declined. Areas need to see themselves as being metropolitan and plan in that way. Because large concentrations of poor and minorities live in our core cities, we need to create a metropolitan perspective, so that everyone who lives in a region has something at stake in both the metropolitan area and the core city.

Mr. Smith: Parents have a considerable responsibility in addressing these issues. One is in helping to reinforce the positive things that go on in schools. They also have a responsibility to be informed and to use the political power that they do have to see to it that more positive things occur in schools, to see to it that state legislatures do appropriate more money for the kinds of resources that are necessary.

But the problem is that most of the parents of at-risk children are not themselves informed about what they ought to be doing. They haven't been energized, and that suggests another responsibility for schools.

If the schools want their cooperation, then school agencies must help to educate parents, to energize them, and to call upon them as partners for the school.

E.W.: But how do you do that? You say the parents of these at-risk children are really at risk themselves. Many are illiterate. Many are unemployed. Many head single-parent families.

Mr. Smith: You can't do it in informal ways. You have to do it in formal ways. You have to come up with programs that assist them to find jobs, that improve their literacy level, that improve their political sense.

That can be threatening to schools, once parents' political sense has been improved. But that is a necessary element in their participation as citizens. Formal programs have to be devised by schools that may, in fact, sometimes make those parents adversaries.

Mr. McMurrin: Nor can parents do the job without others within this metropolitan area taking on these children as if they were their very own.

Mr. Finn: That is an important point that echoes a frequently made observation by Secretary Bennett that parents are the best teachers. It doesn't have to be only their own parents who take an interest in the well-being of individual children; a caring adult following principles of sound parenting plus all of the advice on what works can make a difference.

It can be a grandparent. It can be a neighbor. It can be a scout chief. It can be a guidance counselor. It can be a clergyman. It can be someone that adopts kids or takes responsibility for their education even though they aren't even any relation.

Mr. Yzaguirre: First, we have to find a way to legitimize the role of parents. I'm a veteran of the war on poverty, and we tried to wrestle with this. How do you get poor people involved in the education of their kids? One thing we did was to legitimize the role of parents. The second thing we did was to—through parent advisory committees, as a part of Head Start and other federally supported programs—provide some resources for parent-training workshops, for meetings, for travel. All of that is gone.

E.W.: Did it work?

Mr. Yzaguirre: I think it did. Not everything worked perfectly, but a number of parents got involved in the education of their kids. We began to demystify education a little bit, because one problem was that some poor people said, "We are uneducated and these professionals are educated, and they know a lot more than we do."

Occasionally, there were adversarial relationships built up, but in the long run it built more support for public education and more involvement among poor people.

Mr. Finn: There is a need for private policies—for the kinds of things that you can't mandate people to do, like care for their children and act responsibly toward those that they bring into the world. In a free society, you cannot make these things mandatory no matter what you do.

Schools, and other institutions as well, need to project affirmatively, even aggressively, sound values and principles to everybody in them, kids especially. These need to reinforce the values and principles that kids get at home from their parents.

These are things that you don't have to pass laws in order to have happen. And regrettably, passing laws won't make them happen either. What passing laws involves mainly is the transfer of resources.

Most of this is going to occur in the field of education at the state level. It's not going to occur at the state level in the field of national defense or Social Security or a lot of other things, but in the field of education it's going to occur as it has been occurring, mainly at the state level. To the extent that passing laws can cause these things to happen, we are all for that.

The protection of constitutional and civil rights is certainly one of the federal responsibilities. Continuing to support some of the education of extra-expensive kids is partly a federal responsibility. It's one thing, of course, to pass P.L. 94-142. It's quite another to pay the price tag for the large number of $20,000 kids that somebody referred to earlier. That makes for a very expensive proposition that needs to be factored into a lot of other expensive propositions that this society is facing.

And, of course, research and statistics-gathering are appropriate federal responsibilities.

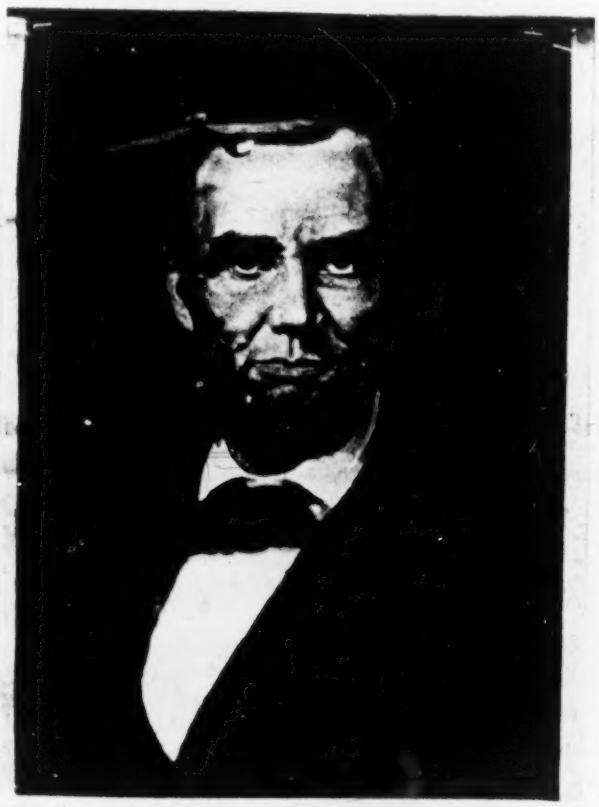
Mr. Smith: We have to say with some candor that we hear no statements coming out of the executive branch that recognize that there is a major problem in America with regard to the education of minorities.

I don't hear any statement that we have the will to do anything about that. I just don't hear it. I don't hear it coming out of the President. I don't hear it coming out of the Secretary of Education. There isn't any philosophical position, any position of leadership that recognizes that this is a major problem that we have to deal with.

Mr. Finn: You didn't happen to be listening too closely to the State of the Union Message when the underclass problem was addressed by the President himself. And our undersecretary is currently chairing a governmentwide task force on the plight of the family, with particular emphasis on underclass children. So I'm not sure you're listening to the people who are talking.

Mr. McMurrin: Our children and their parents who are in the city and are at risk need to quit hearing about why we shouldn't be affirmative in hiring, why we don't want them to live in our neighborhood, all of these negatives. We need to quit that. We need to be more positive about them and be more open and give more advantages to them.

There are two philosophies about education: One says that education follows the culture and can be no better than the people in the culture, and the other says that the schools should take leadership, should be better in every way than the society that they represent. We ought to have higher morals within the school. We ought to have better human relations within the school than we see in the society. ✦



BOB ADELMAN/MAGNUM

The question is whether we as a society have the will to apply the solutions we know will work.
—David Hornbeck

ROUNDTABLE
PREDICTIONS

2001: 6 Views

E.W.: Where will we be in 15 years? Will the society be better off or worse off in terms of the problems we've been discussing?

Mr. McMurrin: Unless we face up to the problems we've discussed here today and directly address the needs of the large numbers of at-risk youngsters in America's major cities, we are going to be in a lot worse shape as a nation. And these children are going to be in a lot worse shape.

Mr. Hodgkinson: The average woman today is going to spend about the same number of years taking care of a dependent older person as she does taking care of a dependent child. The consequences of that are striking and we will need to balance the needs of youth against the needs of this rapidly increasing elderly population, which votes, and the 10-year-olds don't.

We are making wonderful progress in some schools. We are not making wonderful progress at the state level. We have passed an enormous number of bills, some 700 that deal with teachers alone. States can't legislate excellence.

But there are shining examples of individual schools doing just superbly against all odds. That basically comes from some home-grown conditions of local dedicated people who make that happen.

Underneath all the subcultures, there is a potential for a common middle-class membership. I don't know of any common group that is against the values of hard work, of reward for the hard work, of the feeling that your children can do well, maybe even better than you if you're lucky, and that basically your life in the future is going to be as good, if not a little better, than it is at the present time. There is no culture I know for which that is an antithetical value.

So out of all that diversity can come this fundamental commonality, if we can retain the middle class in our country, whatever its ethnicity. But in job structure and income, the middle class is declining. Without a middle-class majority, we simply will not be the United States of America.

There is very little reason to think that minority younger people in the year 2010 are going to be willing to pay in perpetuity the retirement benefits of a large number of older whites. I don't think there is class war developing in the country, but it seems to me there's a possibility of a war between the information haves and the information have-nots. That is why the development of a black and Hispanic middle class is so important—and the development of minority small businesses, and the 286 black mayors in the United States. Those are the beacons.

Fifteen years from now, the best are going to be better, and the worst are not going to be that much better off than they are today. I don't see much of a decline from where we are now, but as the range gets greater, the expectation level gets greater, and then the frustration gets worse.

Mr. Yzaguirre: I am an eternal optimist, so I think in 15 years things are going to be better. I am not sure, however, that I have the same kind of optimistic view for the next four years. There is much more of a negative feeling than we have experienced in many years. In the short run, I see a lot of problems. We are increasingly a polarized community and poverty is on the increase. The nation is going to face a lot more diversity and that is going to engender a lot of negative, know-nothing kinds of moods. We've seen that in this Administration.

And so in the short run, I see an awful lot of problems. But the fact that we are talking about education as much as we are and the fact that for whatever reasons, whatever motivations, more and more people are concerned about education, leads me to believe that we are going to find not *the* solution, but a variety of solutions.

Mr. Hornbeck: The problem is no mystery. We know what the problems are. We also know what the solutions are. We may not know how to cure cancer, but we know how to deal with these issues.

The question is whether we as a society have the imagination, the resources, and the will to apply the solutions we know will work to the problems we know exist. If we do, we will succeed as no society in human history has. If we don't, the consequences of disaster will be quite significant economically and politically for this country.

Which way that will be 15 years from now, I have no earthly idea.

Mr. Finn: We need the requisites that Dave Hornbeck has described at every level—in the family and in the private sector.

I want to emphasize the distinction between diversity—which is not a bad thing, not a new thing, and which we accommodate in various ways—and the underclass problem, which is a grave and intractable one that I don't think we can deal with entirely within the bounds of education. Nor can we deal with it very successfully by further elaborating the conventional welfare-state apparatus. That is what makes it so intractable.

As far as education can deal with underclass issues, it deals with them through a mixture of sanely applied high standards for everyone, character enhancement and ethical formation, and a radical restructuring of the delivery system for public education in this country, which I think will cause it to work a lot better for a lot of people—including underclass kids.

Mr. Smith: We have an opportunity to set an international and historical example of being able to accept, respect, and educate our total diversity. We have that opportunity. I don't think we have the will to do it—not yet. I am not sure we ever will.

The will to respect, educate, and liberate all of our people would require, first, recognition that we oppress minorities in this country educationally, politically, and socially. It is a very deep, explosive, and painful issue. Only some kind of critical emergency could force us to recognize and explore that.

For example, in the late 1960's, the Urban Coalition was formed after 100 cities were burning in America. Colleges and universities in 1968 began to recruit and fund programs for minorities after Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated.

We seem to respond, not because we recognize that it is the humane thing to do, but because we face a crisis. And I think all the elements of crisis are here now.

The only point at which we will begin to recognize the oppression and exploitation of minorities in this country and be forced to do something about it, in the schools in particular, is when we see ourselves in such a dread situation that we think the entire nation's welfare is in the balance.

I believe it will be. It depends upon how soon it is recognized. ✦